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TRAVANCORE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SERIES

Published under the orders of the Government of Travancore:

Stone and Copper-plate Inscriptions of Travancore with 26 plates

BY

K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYAR, B. A., M. R. A. S.,
Superintendent of Archæology, Travancore State.

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ARCHÆOLOGICAL SERIES

Vol. III—Part. I.

STONE AND COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF TRAVANCORE
WITH ILLUSTRATIONS.

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MITRĀNANDAPURAM COPPER-PLATES.

No. 1. A set of five plates of the Mitrāṇandapuram maṭha.

The subjoined inscriptions are engraved on a set of five copper-plates, which measure 13″ by $2\frac{9}{10}$″ and have a ring-hole, 3/10″ in diameter, bored on the left margin, half an inch inside from the edge and in the middle of the width. The plates bear writing on both sides. They have no ring. On the left margin of the obverse faces, a little above the ring hole, Tamiḻ numerals are marked. The plates belong to a Brahmin gentleman of the *Pōtti* class residing in the **Mitrānandapuram** *maṭha:* but nothing is known as regards how and when they were discovered. Pandit Srinivasa Sastri, Smṛitiviśārada, obtained them for examination a few years ago; and under his supervision, good impressions of them were taken. The plates had to be returned immediately to the owner as he was not willing to part with them for any length of time. I edit the inscriptions with the help of these impressions. Judging from them, the preservation of the record may be said to be excellent as far as the middle of the second line on plate Vb., where the first inscription ends. The remaining five lines on this plate and a small bit at the end of line 2, which go to form a fresh inscription, though relating to the same temple, are not so neatly cut as the rest. In fact, three different scripts are noticeable in this set of copper-plates. Up to line 76 the writing is uniform in shape though not always in size: from the latter part of line 76 up to *Kīḻappērūr* in line 77, it is in a slightly different hand; and from *Kīḻappērūr* to the end of the plate, it varies considerably from the two previous portions.

The first part of the inscription, which is the principal one on these plates, is written in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet of about the 13th century A. D. The alphabet employed in the subsequent portion may be called a debased form of the same script, bordering on the Kōleḻuttu characters.

The only Grantha letters used are *svasti śrī* (*l.* 1), *shṇajña* (*l.* 2), *shu* in *vishu* (*l.* 17), and *sahasra* (*l.* 67). The writing of the inscription calls for a few remarks. The first thing to notice in this direction is the want of uniformity in the size of letters.

Many letters had been omitted and afterwards entered by way of interlineation. Such are incised below the line. Two instances of them occur in line 19, one in line 25, one in line 56, and another in line 64. It is particulary worthy of mention that at the end of line 68, there is a vacant space which should have contained a number of syllables that are actually required to go with what follows, to complete the sense. The *pa* and *va* of this record are hardly distinguishable from each other: and *ya* has a very small inward loop at the left top. *Ta* is completely closed at the left side: and hard *ṟa* is shaped almost like a big zero. The bottom portion of *ṉa* is not separated. In its formation, *ṉai* (*ll.* 12, 38 and 56), resembles the letter *po* with the difference that the former has a closed downward loop at the commencement, which the latter has not. For the long *pō*, the engraver gives an open convex curve on the left side and a secondary *a* symbol on the right. The latter differentiates it from the short *po* to which it is not added (*l.* 29). It is worthy of note that the distinction between *pō* and *po* is not made

G. P. T. 3855. 500. 12-11-1920. B

in earlier Vaṭṭeḻuttu charters like the Madras Musuem plates of Jaṭilavarman[1] and the Ambāsamudram record of Varaguṇa-Mahārāja.[2] In this respect, our inscription presents points of similarity to the epigraphs of Śrīvallabhan-Kōdai[3] and Bhāskara-Ravivarman[4] in which, however, ṟa presents a much older appearance. A reference to the plates will show that with regard to the letters ṅa, ṟu, tu and ḍai, which are generally liable to be mistaken one for the other, our epigraph maintains clear distinction. One other point that calls for attention is that the rare symbol for ṉo is employed in lines 74 and 75. There is every likelihood of confounding this letter with ku or kū and as such it requires more than a passing notice. While ku or kū is disjointed at the bottom, ṉo is completely connected and has a bigger round loop at the commencement: the middle portion resembles the vowel ē.

The language of the inscription may be called the western dialect of Tamiḻ, very commonly used in the lithic records of the Malabar coast. There are certain usages which are quite peculiar to these epigraphs and, as such, they deserve notice. Tamiḻ inscriptions often employ colloquial or vulgar forms in registering stone or copper-plate documents, but they are not so profuse as those found in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu records of the Malai-nāḍu. Forms of words and phrases occurring in this inscription, as well as the sense which particular terms convey are worthy of note for a comparative study of kindred records and are also valuable as philological aids. In the name Kṛishṇajñapaḻārar occurring in line 2, *paḻārar* is an adaptation of the Sanskrit *Bhaṭṭāraka*, which finds its way in Tamil in such forms as *Bhaṭṭāragar*, *Piḍārar* or *Paḍārar*.[5] One of the stone inscriptions of Mitrānandapuram introduces a certain Brahmaprajñābhaḻārar-tiruvaḍi,[6] another mentions Yādavēndrānubhūtippaḻārar-tiruvaḍi[7] and two others name Rāmajñapaḻārar-tiruvaḍi.[8] A stone record from Tiruvallam, dated in Kollam 411 (=A. D. 1235), brings to notice Mukundōttamapaḻāra-tiruvaḍi.[9] All these persons seem to have been vested with some authority which is not quite apparent at present. That they were entrusted with the management of temples is almost certain; and the fact that Kṛishṇajñapaḻārar of our record had ordered the re-engraving of the contents of inscriptions that existed previously, might be taken to show that they had some power in that connection. The other term *tiruvaḍi*, which they had adopted, might indicate that they were sanyāsins[10] attached to the *maṭhas* belonging to the respective temples.

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1 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. Plate facing p. 290.

2 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX. plate facing p. 92.

3 *Ibid.* Vol. VIII. plate facing p. 236.

4 *Ibid.* Vol. III p. 72 and *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. II. p. 34.

5 For a short note on the etymology of this word, see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XIII p. 135.

6 See No. 6 below.

7 The inscription which mentions him is dated in Kollam 660 and is edited below; No. 5.

8 See Nos. 3 and 4, below.

9 This record is noticed in the Annual Report of the Travancore Archæological Superintendent for M. E. 1084. The date has been read as Kollam 430 and the name, Mukundānandapaḻārar-Tiruvaḍi. It is edited below, (No. 12).

10 The author of the Tamiḻ work *Silappadigāram* is Iḷaṅgōvaḍigaḷ, a Chēra prince and a recluse.

Adiyārkkunallār, the commentator on the *Śilappadigāram* notes that *Aḍigaḷ* is a term applied to persons who have renounced the world[1] i. e, *sanyāsins*. We find it employed in the case of Aiyai, a female ascetic of the Jaina or Bauddha creed figuring in the work.[2] Sometimes, the term appears in the form Tiruvaḍi or Tiruvaḍigaḷ. In all cases, it seems to have indicated respectability, reverence or endearment; and, as such, we find it appended to the names of kings, queens, chiefs, elders, heads of spiritual institutions, *sanyāsins*, and gods; or used separately in referring to them. Thus, in inscriptions, we meet with forms like Bhāskaran-Ravivarman-Tiruvaḍi[3] and Śōḻaperumān-aḍigaḷ[4] among kings; Kōkkiḻān-aḍigaḷ[5] and Aḍigaḷ-Kamban Māṟambāvai,[6] Pugaḻttuṇai-Aḍigaḷ[7] among queens; Ayyan-aḍigaḷ-Tiruvaḍi and Rāma-Tiruvaḍi,[8] Viḻuppēraraiyar Ayyakkuṭṭi Aḍigaḷ[9] among chiefs; Guṇavīrakkurav-Aḍigaḷ,[10] a Jaina teacher; and Tirumūlaṭṭanattu-Perumān-Aḍigaḷ[11] and Kaṟṟaḷi-Perumān-Aḍigaḷ[12] among the names of gods. From all these, it will be evident that the term could not have had the exclusive sense of a religious recluse. In his *Tiruttoṇḍattogai* Sundaramūrtti-Nāyaṉār gives a list of the great Śaiva saints that preceded him. To their names, he generally affixes the honorific plural Aḍiyār, perhaps out of respect or reverence. Among these we would specially note Appūdi-Aḍiyār Naminandi-Aḍiyār and Aiyaḍigaḷ Kāḍavarkōn.[13]

In such expressions as "*Mahādēvar dēvadānaṅgaḷum Tiruvaḍigaḷ dēvadānaṅgaḷum*,"[14] "*Tiruvaḍigaḷukku-paṅg-iraṇḍu Mahādēvarkku paṅgu aindu*"[15] and "*Tiruvaḍigaḷ śrīkōyilum nandavāṉamum*,"[16] *Tiruvaḍigaḷ* seems to denote exclusively Vishṇu temples as distinguished from Śiva shrines.[17] Besides the above mentioned usages of the term, we have to note that Aḍigaḷ or Aḍigaḷmār indicated 'a body of men' which perhaps included in it all those who performed worship in temples. That this body was separate from, but had the privilege of meeting in company with, the members of the village assembly (*sabhai*), for settling matters of moment is clear from such expressions as "*sabhaiyam aḍigaḷmārum avirōdattāl kūḍi-chcheyda kachcham*."[18] The Sanskrit equivalent of *aḍigaḷ* is *pādāh* and its usage is to some extent, similar; *e. g.*, Pūjyapādāh, Bhagavatpādāh, Tātapādāh, Āchāryapādāh, etc. Though the application of the term *aḍigaḷ*

1 அடிகள் என்பது துறந்தவர்.

2 See Canto 1.

3 *Travancore Archæological Series*, Vol. II., pp. 40, 41.

4 No. 381 of Madras Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

5 Ep. Ind. Vol. VII. p. 133. Here, Kōkkiḻāṉ-Aḍigaḷ is called the mother of Rājāditya.

6 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III. Part. III. p. 226.

7 No. 168 of Madras Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

8 *Travancore Archæological Series*, Vol. II. pp. 67 and 68.

9 No. 168 of Madras Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

10 No. 705 of Do. for 1905.

11 No. 319. of Do. for 1904.

12 *South-Indian Inscriptions* Vol. III. Part III, p. 228.

13 See. p. 699 of Tēvāram.

14 *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. II, page 46, sect. 2, text-line 3f.

15 *Ibid* p. 527, text-line 9.

16 See Introd. to *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 41.

17 *Ibid* p. 47 text-line 9.

18 *Travancore Archæological Series*, Vol. II. p. 85.

or *Tiruvadiyal* is general, it does not appear to have been so freely used in connection with kings and bodies of men in other parts of Southern India, as in Malabar. And perhaps from this circumstance, the country of Travancore came to be called by the proper name *Tiruvaḍi-dēśam* or *Tiruvaḍi-rājya*. It is curious that Dr. Winslow explains Tiruvaḍi-rājyam as a 'society without law or justice', 'anarchy or want of Government'.

In line 3, the term Baṭṭāragar is used to denote the god at Mitrānandapuram. In this sense, it is invariably employed in Tamil epigraphs. Instances in which the term is used to mean worshippers are not rare. In the subjoined record *olla* is used for *uḷḷa*. It occurs several times *e. g.* *tiruchchennaḍaikkoḷḷa* (*l.* 3.) *mēlōḷḷa* (*l.* 2.) *nondāviḷakkiṉolla* (*l.* 35), *amirdiuṉoḷḷidu* (*ll.* 74 & 75) and *rājabōgamoḷḷadu* (*l.* 82). In such words as *eppērppaṭṭidu* (*l.* 4.), *śelvidu* (*ll.* 6 & 57), *koḷvidu* (*l.* 17) *oḷḷidu* (*l.* 74) which stand for *eppērppaṭṭadu*, *śelvadu*, *koḷvadu* and *uḷḷadu*, we notice the change of the Tamiḻ *a* into *i*. The correct Tamiḻ from *koḷvadu* is also used once in line 25 f. For *amaitta*, the form *amaichcha* is substituted in lines 7 and 20. When a hard consonant (*valliṉam*), follows a nasal or a letter of the *mellinam*, the former is generally changed into the corresponding letter of the *mellinam* class. Several instances of this occur in this inscription. *e. g.*

k is changed into *ṅ*, in Mūṅṅilkuḍi (*l.* 42), Panaiṅṅāṭṭūr paṅṅu (*l.* 71); and Kīrttimaṅṅalam (65 f):

ch is changed into *ñ*, in Palaññi (*l.* 34) and veññi (*l.* 43):

t into *n*, in kiḍanna (*l.* 56) and Śennaṉ (*l.* 18):

and *p* into *m*, in tāmmira for tāmbira.[1]

For *aimparai*, our inscription substitutes *amparai* (*ll.* 12, 13, 15 and 49), *aymparai* (*ll.* 22) and *aymparai* (*l.* 53). The use of the word *taṉralai* (*ll.* 9 & 17) for *tanakku* is worthy of note. For the dative, *u* is added instead of *ku* in such instances as *śelaviṉṉu* (*l.* 68) *agattiyakuṇḍattiṉṉu* (*l.* 65), *amudiṉṉu* (*l.* 80) *viḷakkiṉṉu* (*l.* 80) and *vishuviṉṉu* (*l.* 17). The rules of Tamiḻ grammar would not admit the doubling of the final consonant in these instances. *Niyadi* (*ll* 5, 18) of our inscription assumes the forms *niyadi*,[2] *niśadi*, *niyadam* and *niśadam* in other records. *Ari* is used for *ariśi* in lines 19 and 34. Sometimes the connecting particle *um* is omitted e. g. *Peruṅguḷam nālkalam Tachchakkōḍu irukalaṅ-kūḍa* for '*nāṟkalamum*' *irukalamumkūḍa*. Similarly, the particle *um* is required after *nāṟkalam*, *mukkalam* and *irukalam* occurring in lines 42 and 43. The rules of *sandhi* are set at naught in such cases as *nālpadu*, *nālkalam*, *paraiarai*, *irukalaarai* (*ll.* 63, 64), *pūminal* (*l.* 70) *oṉṟunāl* (*l.* 72), *pādipāṭṭāl* (*l.* 66), though the record makes use of such forms as *mūlakku* (*ll.* 10, 17) *nāṟpadu*, *nāṟkalam*, *paṟaiyarai*, *Mēṟṟachchakkōḍu*, *nāṟpattirupparaiyarai*, *nāṟṟūṇi*, (*l.* 53), and *Āṉaiyaṟaiyāgiṉṟa* (*l.* 56). In *mūṉṟoṉṟu* and *nāloṉṟu*, the marked preference to forms without connecting particles, may be observed. The termination *il* is used for the locative, and *āl* either for the instrumental or for the ablative,—more probably for the latter e. g. Kōlachchaimūlaiyil Varaiyaṟaiyāl nel padiṉparai (*l.* 13 f). *Āl* is also used for the instrumental in such phrases as *iḍaṅgaḷiyāl aṟunāḷi*.

1 *Travancore Archæological Series*, Vol. I. p. 302.

2 See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 94, *n.*

The writer of the present inscription gives the names of lands by the quantity of seed that could be sown in them. This custom still obtains in Travancore, Tinnevelly and other parts of the Tamil country. Thus the term *pandiru-tūṇi-vittuppāḍu* (*l.* 46) indicates a land that could be sown with twelve *tūṇi* of seed. Instead of *vittuppāḍu*, its equivalent *viraippāḍu* is now current in such phrase as *nālukōṭṭai viraippāḍu*. Quite in the same sense, the shortened phrase *kalampāḍu* (*l.* 23 &c.) is employed in this record; and it means that the land requires (one) *kalam* (*of seed*). Sometimes, perhaps for the sake of brevity, the writer omits the term *pāḍu* and uses only *kalam e. g. Viṭṭikōḍu nilam kalam* (*l.* 38 f) where it means that the land called Viṭṭikōḍu (*can be sown with*) (*one*) kalam (*of seed*). In expressing the income derived from lands, the writer uses the words '*nilam eṇkalattāl nelpadiṉ-aim-paṟai* (*l.* 28)' *i. e.* fifteen *paṟai* of paddy (accruing) from the land (which requires) eight *kalam* (of seed) for sowing. In most cases, this form is still further shortened into *Viṭṭikkōḍu nilam kalam nel irupattiru-paṟai* (*l.* 38f) or by omitting even the word *nilam* e. g. *Mūṅṅilkōḍu nāṟkalam nel muppaduparai* (*l.* 49 f).

The term *mēloḍi*, which is often used in our inscription, is not explained in dictionaries. But its sense can, with some amount of certainty, be determined from its use. In the above paragraph, it has been shown that the writer of the present inscription indicates the incomes from lands by mentioning the quantity of paddy immediately after the lands which are again expressed by simply noting the quantity of seed that could be sown in them. In a large number of cases, the quantity of paddy is followed by such terms as *mūṉṟ-oṉṟu-mēloḍi* (*ll.* 22 f and 30) *nāl-oṉṟu mēloḍi kolvadu* (*l.* 29), *mēloḍi mūṉṟ-oṉṟu* (*l.* 70), or merely *mēloḍi* (*l.* 45), from which it looks as if the term *mēloḍi* stands for the income derived form the lands. Mēlvāram will not be an improper equivalent of mēloḍi. And in this connection, it may be noted that there is still the usage '*mūṉṟatt-oṉṟu mēlvāram*' and '*nālil-oṉṟu mēlvāram*', current in some parts of the Tamil districts. *Oḍi* in modern Malayāḷam means "a rice field" and not the income from it. In the sense of *mēloḍi*, *ayakara* is used in line 62.

Veḷḷaṅgoḷḷi (*ll.* 11, 25, and 37), *kaḷapaṟai* (*l.* 23), *kaḷavaṟai* (*ll.* 23 & 50), *paṭṭattuḍavai* (*l.* 25), *eruma-āḷa* (*l.* 25), and *muṭṭaviḷai* (*l.* 25), are terms applied to indicate different classes of lands. *Purayiḍam* or *puraiyiḍam*, *i. e.* land surrounding houses (*ll.* 34 and 57), *vayal* and *karai* are also mentioned (*l.* 75). The meaning of *Purappaḍagāram* (*l.* 75) is not clear: perhaps it is a proper noun here. But in other epigraphs *paḍāgāram* and *pññjaippaḍāgāram* are used in a general sense.

Among the names of measures, we have *iḍaṅgaḷi*, *nāḷi*, *uri*, *uḷakku*, *paṟai*, *tūṇi*, *kaṟṟai* (*ll.* 62 and 65) and *kalam*. *Paṟai* contained according to line 26, ten *nāḷi*. From other inscriptions, we gather that it varied in its capacity. The Śrīvallabhan Kōdai epigraph of Tiruvaṇṁaṇḍūr mentions one which held nine *nāḷi*[1]

1 *Travancore Archæological Series*, Vol. II. p. 23.

The phrases *munnāḻichchai-ari* and *nānāḻichchari*, which are not in popular usage, occur in lines 57 and 80. In these cases, *chai* and *cha* appear to be contractions of *cheydu* which is the form used in similar places in the Māmbaḷḷi plate of Śrīvallabhan-Kōdai[1] and the stone inscriptions of Bhāskara-Ravivarman.[2] In the former plate, *cheydu-nel* is also used.[3] In all these instances, *cheydu*, *chai*, and *cha* are not mere expletives but appear to convey the meaning 'good, clean or superior' and are probably the remnants of the word *śeydu* or śemmai. Thus *cheydu-nel* means 'good paddy' and *cheyd-ari* 'superior rice.' Here may be noted the use of "*chennel*", "*arisi chennel-tīṭṭai nānāḻi*," employed in similar places in other epigraphs.[4] In *Tachchōḻi Pāṭṭu* the phrase "*munnāḻichcha ari*" occurs, perhaps in the same sense.[5] *Viṭṭu-ulōgam* (*l.* 60f), *śāndivirutti* (*l.* 67) and *amavādi*, stand for *Vishṇulōka*, *śāntivritti* and *amāvāsya*. The change of Vishṇu into *Viṭṭu* is one worthy of note. The word generally adopts the form *viṇṇa* changing the *sh* into *ṇ*: *e. g.* Viṇṇagara for Vishṇugriha, Kaṇṇa for Krishṇa. But the substitution of *ḍa* for *sha* is quite common *e. g.* Mēḍa for Mēsha, Iḍavam for Ṛishabha. *Tiruvakkiram* frequently figures in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions of the State, while *uttamāgram* takes its place in the epigraphs of the Tanjore, Trichinopoly and other districts.

Among proper names of lands, we frequently meet with the endings *kōḍu* (*ll.* 8, 15, 22, 69), *kāḍu* (*ll.* 25 and 31) or kūḍu (*l.* 14), *muṟi* (*l.* 52) or *muṟai* (*l.* 55), *vāy* (*ll.* 47 and 62), *maṇ* (*ll.* 12f, 43, 46), and *aṟa* or *aṟai* (*ll.* 13, 30, 42, 48, 56).

Dēvarśittan, which occurs in line 60, must be taken to denote the name of a standard grain and liquid measure, probably called after the god, just as Āḍavallān and Dakshiṇamēruviṭaṅkan mentioned very often in the Tanjore inscriptions of Rājarāja I. In former times, it was also customary to call weights and measures after the names of kings *e. g.* Rājakēsari, Viḍēlviḍugu, Arumoḻidēvan.

This epigraph does not appear to be a fresh grant but purports only to give a list of lands that had been made over to the temple at different times and recorded as such either on stone or copper. This fact is plain from the use of the phrase "*veṭṭiruṇapaḍi*" occurring in line 4. The engraving of the present inscription was ordered by one Kṛishṇajña-apaḷārar (*ll.* 2 to 4) who must have been a person of some consequence, though his calling and authority are not mentioned. The astronomical data furnished regarding the date on which the order for the re-engraving was given *i. e.* "In the month of Vṛiśchika when Jupiter stood in Dhanus" (*l.* 1) are not sufficient for calculation or verification.

1 Ep. Ind Vol. IX. p. 236 text-line 9.

2 Trav. Archl. Series, Vol. II. pp. 39 and 47.

3 Ep. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 236 text-line 10.

4 Ibid, Vol. VII. p. 90, text-lines 15 and 30.

5 See Dr. Gundert's Malayāḷam Dictionary under *munnāḻi*.

The object of the inscription is to register the gifts made to meet the expenses of the temple at Mitrānandapuram. The first of the grants recorded is said to have been made in the month of Mithunam when Jupiter was in Tulām, by a certain Kuṉṟan Kēraḷaṉ, a resident of Peruṅguḷam, for supplying a dish of sacred meal (*l*. 5), which is here apparently intended for feeding a Brāhmaṇa. The second gift was made by Śēndaṉ Kaṇḍaṉ of Dēvarppaḷḷi, for offerings to the god and sacred meal and condiment (*l*. 18f). The same person is said to have provided also for burning a perpetual lamp in the temple. The inscription then gives a list of lands, which were perhaps given by others for the same purpose *i. e.* for sacred lamps (*l*. 35ff). Next follow further grants made by Śēndaṉ Kaṇḍaṉ of Dēvarpaḷḷi, for conducting worship and for performing *sahasraṉ* (*i. e. sahasra-nāmā-archana* 'offering of flowers 1,000 times uttering the thousand names of the god) (*l*. 65). Then the inscription registers gifts made for offerings and expenses to be defrayed on the days of *Amāvādi* (*i. e.* Amāvāsyā 'the new-moon') (*l*. 76). Finally, in somewhat later characters, the epigraph records that the Vēṇāḍu king Ravimārttāṇḍavarman of Kīḻappērūr bestowed the incomes of *Rājabhōga* and *tuṟam* which accrued to him at Tiruvānandapuram, for daily offerings and sacred lamps (*ll*. 78ff). The inscription ends with the mention of the name Iravi-Pērūr (*l*. 82).

It remains now to note that Mitrānandapuram, to whose temples our inscription registers grants, forms part of Trivandrum. It is situated to the west of the temple of Śrī-Padmanābhasvāmin from whose western gate a stonepaved path-way leads to it. Here are three shrines dedicated to Śiva, Vishṇu and Brahmā. As will be noticed below in editing the stone inscriptions of Mitrānandapuram, like Kṛishṇajña-Bhaṭārar of the subjoined inscription, Rāmajña-Bhaṭārar and Brahmaprajñā-Bhaṭārar were connected with the management of the same temple at different times. A point that is worthy of special mention is that the god in the Brahmā shrine is called in its inscriptions Dakshiṇasvarnamukai-Bhaṭārar.

Quite a large number of proper names of villages and lands are furnished in this inscription. A list of these, arranged in alphabetical order, is given below. I have been able to indentify most of the villages. In column 2 of the list the names of villages and lands as they occur in the inscriptions, are given; in colum 3, the references to the lines; and in column 4, a short note as regards their identification.

Serial No.	Name of villages and lands.	References to lines.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4
1	Agattikōḍu	73	There is a village named Agastyakōḍ in the Anchal-Pakuthi of Pathanapuram Taluk.
2	Agattiyakuṇḍam	65	

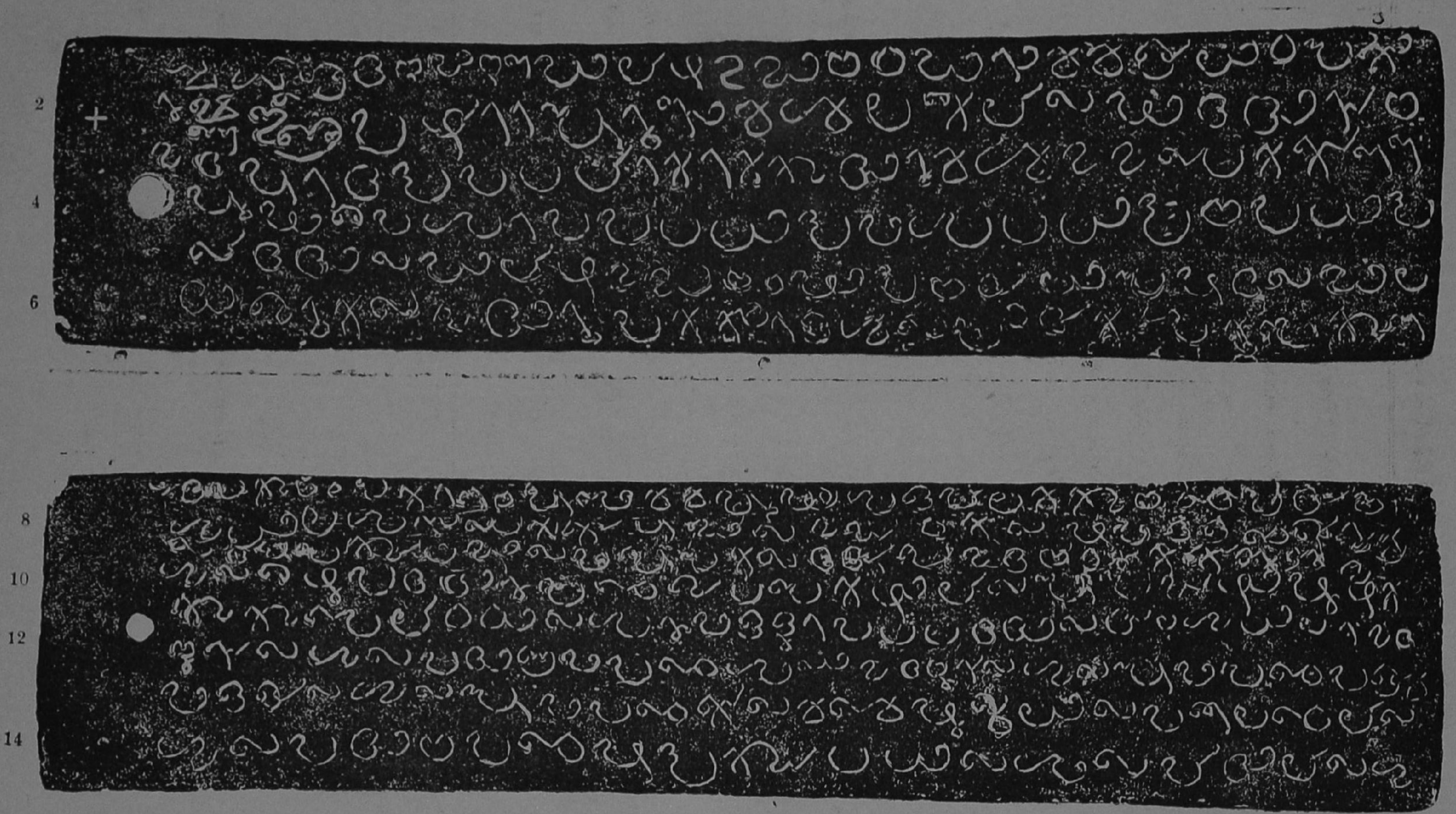
Serial No.	Name of villages and lands.	References to lines.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4
3	Ālaikkōṭṭūr	51	
4	Āḷāyakkōṭṭai	39	
5	Ambaruttikkuḷi	77	
6	Āṇaikkuḷimugam or Mēlāṇaikkuḷimugam	54, 55, 56	
7	Āṇaiyaṟai	56	
8	Aṇḍamāṇūr	48	
9	Āriyappaḷaññi	27	
10	Dēvarpaḷḷi	18, 69	This name which occurs before Śēṉṉaṉ Kaṇḍaṉ may be considered as the village of original settlement of the person.
11	Iḍaikkaṟkāḍu	42	There is a village called Iḍamala in Pūñjār-Pakuthi in Peermade Taluk. Idamuḷakkal is a Pakuthi in Pathanapuram Taluk.
12	Iḍaimalaikkāl	30	
13	Iḍaimalai Śiṟṟiḍaimalai Pēriḍaimalai	31, 59	
14	Iḍaiyarmaṉ	46	This is now a hamlet of Muṭṭattara Pakuthi in the Trivandram Taluk.
15	Iḷantōṭṭam	58	
16	Iḷavēṇāḍu	59	Iḷavēṇāṭṭunallūr figures as a village in the Huzur plates of Karunandaḍakkan of the 9th century A. D. where it is stated to be situated in Teṅga-nāḍu and as sum must be located in the Viḷavaṅkoḍ Taluk, Painkuḷam-Pakuthy.
17	Īndaṉūr	11, 12	This is a Pakuthi in Tiruvalla Taluk.
18	Iravipērūr	82	
19	Irutalaikōḍu	54	
20	Kaḍuvēlamālaikuḷam	43	
21	Kallaṟai	48	
22	Kaṇichchikōḍu	22	

Serial No.	Name of villages and lands.	References to line	Remarks.
1	2	3	4
23	Kīḻappē-ūr	77	There is a village of this name belonging to Veḷḷalūr-Pakuthi in the Chirayinkīḻ Taluk.
24	Kīḻupulam	44	
25	Kīrttimaṅṅalam	65 f	
26	Kolachchaimūlai	13	
27	Koṇḍaṉṉeṟai	77	
28	Koṉṟaiyaṟai	30	
29	Kuḻaikkāḍu	37	This may be identical with Kuḷakkaṭa one of the Pakuthies of the Kottarakkara Taluk.
30	Kummam-Peruntāṉṟi	74	It is now a hamlet belonging to Pālkuḷaṅgarai - Pakuthy, Trivandrum Taluk.
31	Kuṇḍaiyam	39	There are two hamlets of this name, one in Paṭṭāḻi-Pakuthi and the other in Pathanapuram Pakuthi of the Pattanāpuram Taluk.
32	Kuṟṟaṟai-muṟi or-uṟā	52, 53	
33	Kurugātti	76	
34	Kuvaiyūrkkāl	69	
35	Maṇalpaḷḷiññi	34	This is now a hamlet belonging to Tiruvattūr Pakuthi of the Neyyattinkara Taluk.
36	Māṇikkāl	33, 38, 41	Bearing the name Māṇikkal, there are two places in the Nedumangad Taluk. One of them is a hamlet of Nellanad-pakuthi and the other is a Pakuthi by itself.
37	Maṇṇarai	8	It is a hamlet belonging to Aṇḍūrkōṇam-Pakuthi, Trivandrum Taluk.
38	Mēl-Kāḍiyūr	25	
39	Mēl-Toḻundiyūr	64 f	
40	Mittirānandapuram	2 f, 79	This is a part of Trivandrum, quite close to the Padmānabhasvāmin temple; a stone paved pathway leads to it from the western gate of the temple of Padmanābhasvāmin. Here are shrines of Śiva, Vishṇu and

Serial No.	Name of villages and lands.	References to lines.	Remarks
1	2	3	4
			Brahmā and a *maṭha*. These have already been referred to (pp. 10 to 11).
41	Mudākkāl	21, 25, 28, 37	This is a hamlet belonging to Nellanad Pakuthi of the Nedumangad Taluk.
42	Mudukūḍu	14	
43	Mūṅṅilkōḍu	49	
44	Muṭṭavilai	58	This may be Muṭṭattarai-Pakuthi of the Trivandrum Taluk.
45	Naḍuvattumuṟai	55	
46	Nannāḍu or Nannāṭṭukkāl	29	There is a village named Nannad in Tiruvammuṇḍūr Pakuthi, Chengannur Taluk.
47	Nechchikkōḍu	23, 25 f	I have not been able to find out Nechchikkōḍu among the villages and hamlets of Travancore but there is one bearing the name Nechchiputūr which is a hamlet of Lāḷam-Pakuthy of the Minachchal taluk.
48	Neḍumaṇ	44	There are two villages of the name Neḍumaṇ, of which one figures as a hamlet in Karakuḷam-Pakuthy of the Nedumangad Taluk and the other is a hamlet of Enadimangalam-Pakuthi in Kunnathur Taluk.
49	Neṇṇaṇēṟai	47	
50	Oṟṟimā	27	
51	Pālaikkōḍu	31, 50	This may be identified with the hamlet of Pālakkāḍu in Thotappuzhasseri of the Tiruvalla Taluk.
52	Paralkkōṭṭelvāyil	51	
53	Panaiṅṅāṭṭūr	71	
54	Pērilikkōḍu	8	
55	Perumaṇṇūr	11	There are hamlets of this name in Kuṭṭamangalam Pakuthi of Muvattupuzha taluk and Iḍamuḷakkal Pakuthi of Pathanapuram Taluk. There is a village named Perumaṇ

Serial No.	Name of villages and lands.	References to lines.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4
			in Trivandrum taluk and another in Quilon Taluk.
56	Perumbālaimaṇ	31, 61, 64	
57	Perumbaṇaiyūr	32 f	
58	Peruṅguḷam	6, 36	This is a Pakuthi of the Nedumangad Taluk. There is also a hamlet of this name in Kuḷakkaḍa-Pakuthi of the Kottarakara taluk and another in Mailam Pakuthi of the Pattanapuram Taluk.
59	Perunīr	32	
60	Peruntāṉṟi	74	This is only a part of Trivandrum, now spelt Perumtānni.
61	Piṇarkkōḍu	15	
62	Poṅṅaṟai or Kālapoṅṅaṟai	29	
63	Pōyili	61	
64	Pūdikōḍu	69 f	
65	Puṉṉūr	40	
66	Puraṇi	45	
67	Purappaḍagāram	75	
68	Pūvaṟai and Kīḻpūvaṟai	42	
69	Śempaḻundi	49	This is the hamlet of chempazhanji belonging to Uḷiattura Pakuthi of the Trivandrum Taluk.
70	Śempaḻundinallūr	62	
71	Śirukuvaiyāṟu	35	
72	Śiṟupāṇaiyam	33	
73	Śirutāḷaṟai	42	
74	Śiṟutuṟavāy	64	
75	Tachchakkōḍu and Meṟṟachchakkōḍu	36 37	It is one of the *karas* of Tiruvitāṅkōḍ Pakuthi in Eraniel Taluk.
76	Tiruvāṉandapuram	81	This is only Trivandrum.
77	Tuṟiyūrkkāl	46	
78	Uḷamalaikkāl	60, 63 f	This is a Pakuthi of the Nedumangad Taluk.
79	Uraiyūrkkōḍu	28	

Serial No.	Name of villages and lands.	References to lines.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4
80	Uḷiyatturai	32	
81	Vañjamaṉ	12 f	
82	Vanjiyūr	52	This forms one of the Pakuthies of the Trivandrum Taluk.
83	Vaṟaiyaṟai	13	
84	Vēṇāḍu	78	
85	Veññimaṉ	43	
86	Veṇpāykkuṉṟam	7, 45	This may be identical with Vembāyam Pakuthi of Nedumangad Taluk.
87	Veyvēṟu	41	
88	Viḻiñam or Viḻiñattuvāy	47	Viḻiñam is a hamlet in Kōṭṭukāl Pakuthy in Neyyaṟṟingara Taluk.
89	Veṭṭikōḍu	38	There is a village named Veṭṭikōḍu in Paḷḷikal pakuthy of Mavelikkara Taluk.
90	Viṭṭu-ulōkam	60 f	



V. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer.

First Plate: First Side.[1]

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [||*] தனுவினுள் வியாழந் நின்ற விரிச்ச[2] ஞாயிற்று தி-
2. ருஷ்ணுபழாரர் அருளிச்செய்கையால் மித்திரான-
3. ந்தபுரத்து பட்டாரகர்க்கு திருச்செந்நடைக்கொள்ள[3]
4. பூமி எப்பெர்ப்பட்டிதும்[4] வெட்டிருனபடி[5] [||*] து-
5. லாத்தில் வியாழந் நின்ற மிதுன ஞாயிறு முதல் நிய-
6. தி ஒரு கலந் திருவக்கிரஞ் செல்விதாக[6] பெருங்குள-

First Plate: Second Side.

7. த்து குன்றங் கோளன் அமைச்ச பூமி [||*] வெண்பாய்க்குன்றத்து தான-
8. நெடிய பெரிலிக் கொடு நிலந் நாற்கலமு[ம்*] மண்ணறை இரு[க]-
9. லமுங்[7] கூட நிலம் அறுகலத்தாலுந் தன்றலைக் கொளுளுந்[8]
10. நெல் எழுபத்திரு பறை இடங்கழியால் அறுநாழி மூழக்
11. கு[||*] குவையாற்றில் பெருமண்ணூர் வட்டத்தில் தான நெடிய ஈந்த-
12. னூரால் நெல் பதினைம்பறை[||*] மெலீந்தனூரால் நெல் அம்பறை[||*] வஞ்ச-
13. மண்ணூல் நெல் அம்பறை[||*] கொலச்சை மூலையில் வரையறையால்
14. நெல் பதின்பறை[||*] முதுகூட்டில் மெல் பாதியால் நெ-

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1 The Tamil numeral for 'one' in the form of a *plus* sign is marked on the left margin.

2 Read விரிச்சிக.

3 Read நடைக்குள்ள.

4 Read எப்பேர்ப்பட்டதும்.

5 Read வெட்டியிருந்தபடி.

6 Read செல்வதாக.

7 A symbal which resembles the letter த is found between ல and மு. Perhaps it has been scored out or wrongly inserted.

8 Read கொள்ளுந்.

Second Plate:[1] *First Side.*

15. ல் அம்பறை[||*] பிணர்க்கொட்டால் நெல் அம்பறை[||*] கூட நெல் பதினொ-
16. ழிப்பறையால் நூற்றொருபத்தெழுபறை இடங்கழியால் அறு
17. நாழி முழக்கு[||*] சித்திரை விஷுவின்று தன்றலைக் கொள்விது[2][||*]
18. தெவர்பள்ளிச் செந்நங்கண்டன் நியதி இரட்டையால் அஞ்-
19. ஞாழி யரி பாதி திருவமுதும் பாதி[3] திரு அக்கிரத்தின்னும்[3] வெஞ்-
20. சனத்தின்னும் அமைச்ச பூமி[||*] ஈராற்றிடை தெவர்புளிமா எழுக-
21. லத்தால் பதினொழிப்பறையால் நூற்றைம்பது பறை[||*] முதாக்கா-

Second Plate: Second Side.

22. ல் கணிச்சிகொட்டு வெள்ளங்கொள்ளி அய்ம்பறை வித்துபாடு[|*] முன்றொன்-
23. று மெலொடி[||*] நெச்சிகொட்டு களபறையுந் தலைத்தடியும் கலம்பாடு [|*] இதி-
24. ஞல் நெல் பதின்பறை[||*] செந்நங்கண்டனே ஒரு நந்தாவிளக்கின்கு[4] அமைச்
25. ச பூமி[||*] முதாக்கால் [5]கணிச்சிகொடும் மெல்காடியூர் முக்கலமும் [|*] நெச்சிகொ-
26. ட்டு வெள்ளங்கொள்ளியும் பட்டத்துடவையும் எரும ஆளும் முட்டவிளை
27. ஆரியப்பழஞ்ஞி மெலொள்ள ஒற்றிமாவு கூட நெல் நூற்றொருபது பறை[||*]
28. முதாக்கால் உறையூர்க்கொடு நிலம் எண்கலத்தால் நெல் பதினைம்ப-
29. றை[||*] நன்ஞட்டுகால் பொங்ஙறை கலம்பாடு[|*] நாலொன்று மெலொடி கொள்
30. வது[||*] இடைமலைக்கால் கொன்றையறை கலம்பாடு[|*] முன்றொன்று மெலொடி[||*]

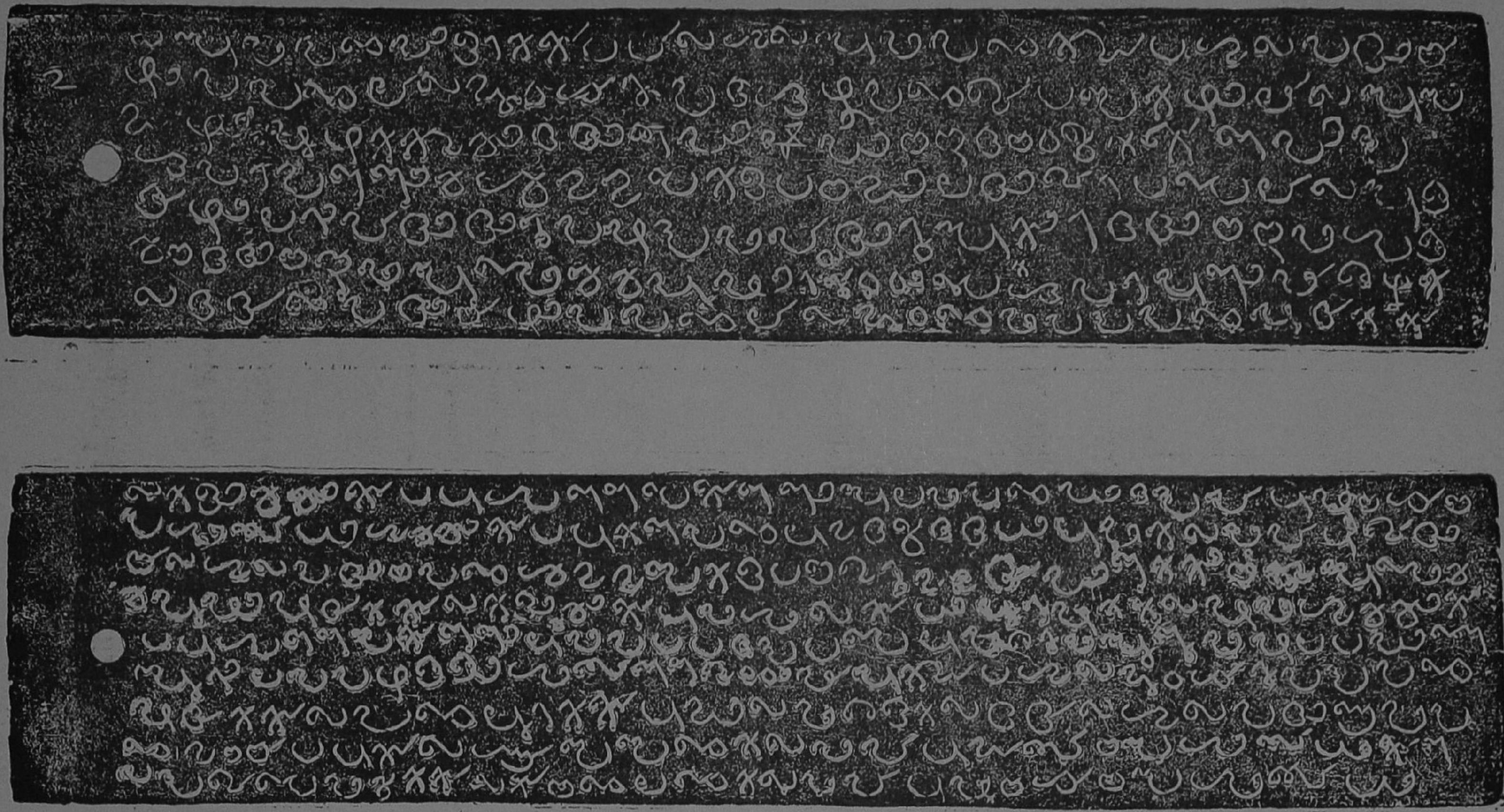
1 The Tamil numeral 2 is marked on the left margin.

2 Read கொள்வது.

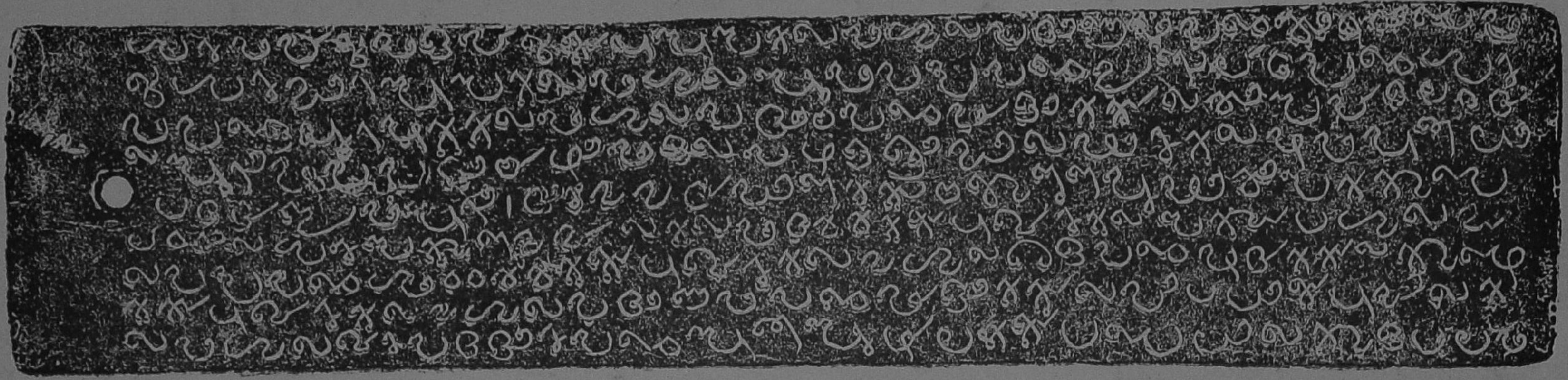
3 The தி of பாதி and க் of திரு அக்கிரத் are engraved below the line.

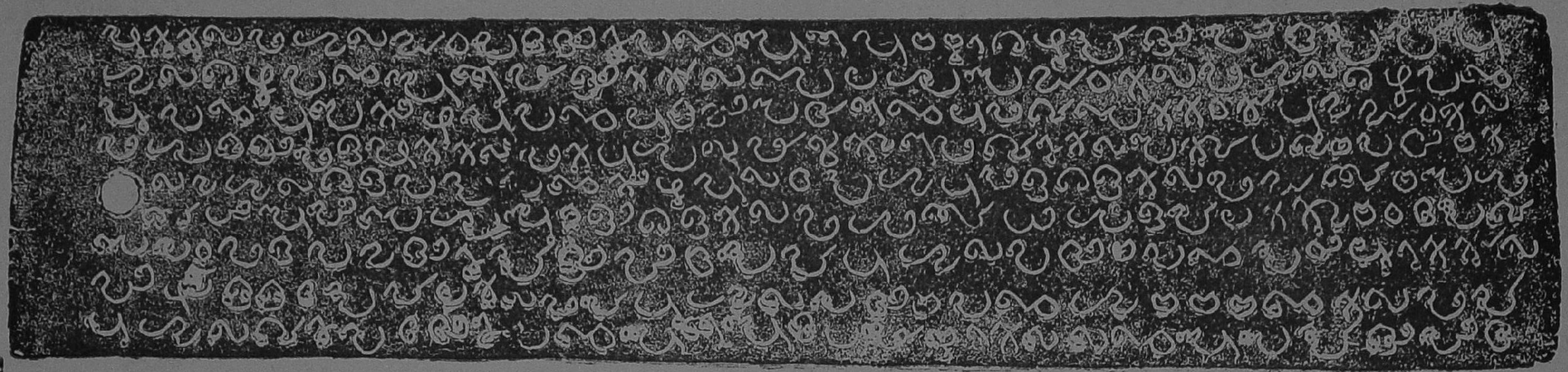
4 Read விளக்கினுக்கு.

5 The ச் of கணிச்சி is written below the line.



K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer.





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Third Plate:[1] *First Side.*

31. பெரும்பாலைமண் பாலைகொடு அறுகலம்[|*] நெல் பதினைம்பறை[||*] சிற்றிடைம-
32. லை. பெருநிர் அறுகலம்[|*] நெல் அம்பது பறை[||*] உளியாத்துறை பெரு-
33. ம் பணையூர் முக்கலம்[|*] நெல் பதின்பறை[||*] மாணிக்கால் சிறுபா-ணயத்தா-
34. ல் அரி முப்பதினாழி[||*] மணல்பழஞ்ஞி நிலமிருகலமும் புரையி-
35. டத்தாலும் அரி | திருநந்தாவிளக்கின்னொள்ள பூமி[||*] சிறுக்கு-வை-
36. யாற்றில் பெருங்குளந் நால்கலம்[|*] தச்சக்கொடு இருகலங்[|*] கூட நெல் நா-
37. ல்பது பறை[||*] மெற்றச்சக்கொடு இருகலந்[|*] நெல் எண்பறை[||*] முதாக்கால் குழை-
38. க்காடு இருகலந்[|*] நெல் பதினைம்பறை[||*] மாணிக்கால் விட்டி கொடு நில[ம்*] க-
39. லம்[|*] நெல் இருபத்திருபறை அரை[||*] ஆழாயக்கொட்டையில் குண்டயம்

Third Plate: Second Side.

40. முக்கலம்[|*] நெல் நாற்பத்திருபறை அரை[||*] புன்னூர் எழுதூணி வித்துபாடு[|*]
41. நெல் எழுபறை அரை[||*] மாணிக்கால் வைய்வெறு நாற்கலம்[|*] நெல் எழுபறை[||*]
42. பூவறையுங் கீழ்பூவறையுஞ் சிறுதாளறையும் இடைக்கற்காடுந் நாற்-கல-
43. ம்[||*] வெஞ்ஞிமண் முக்கலம்[|*] கடுவெலமாலைகுளம் இருகலங்[|*] கூட ஒன்பதின் க-
44. லந்[|*] நெல் எண்பது பறை[||*] கீழுபுலத்து நெடுமண் எண்கலம் [|*] நாலொன்று மே-
45. லொடி[||*] அவிடையெ புறணி எண்கலம்[|*] மெலொடி[||*] வெண் பாய்க்குன்றத்து இ-
46. டையற் மண் பந்திருதூணி வித்துப்பாடு[|*] நெல் பதின் பறை[||*] துறியூர்க்கால்
47. விழிஞ்ஞத்துவாய் கலம்பாடு[|*] நெல் பதின்பறை[||*] கென்னனெ-றை கலம்பா-
48. டு[|*] நெல் இருபத்திருபறை அரை[||*] அண்டமானூர் கல்லறை அறுதூணி வித்-

[1] The Tamil numeral ௩ is marked on the left margin of this plate.

Fourth Plate:[1] *First Side.*

49. து பாடு[।*] நெல் அம்பறை[॥*] செம்பழுந்தி மூங்கில் கொடு நாற்கலம்[।*] நெல் மு-
50. ப்பது பறை[॥*] பாலைகொட்டில் குளவறையுந் தலைத்தடியும் பந்திருதூணி வித்-
51. துபாடு[।*] நெல் பதின்பறை[॥*] பால்கொட்டெல்வாயில் ஆலைக்கொட்டூர் இருகலந்[।*] நெல் ப-
52. தின்பறை[॥*] வஞ்சியூர் குற்றறைமுறி அறுதூணி வித்துபாடு [।*] நெல் பதின்பறை[॥*] குற்றறை-
53. உருப் பூமி நாற்றூணி வித்துபாடு[।*] நெல் நாழியால் நூற்றைம்பதினாழி[॥*]
54. ஆனைக்குழிமுகத்து இருதலைகொடு நாற்கலம்[।*] நாலொன்று மெலொடி[॥*] மெலானைக்கு-
55. ழிமுகத்து நடுவத்து முறை நாற்கலம்[।*] நெல் இருபத்தைம்பறை [॥*] மெலை
56. கிடந்த [2]ஆனையறையாகின்ற நிலம் இருகலம்[।*] ஆனைக்குழிமுகத்து கொட்டை இ-
57. ரண்டு கரைபடலும் புரையிடந்தாலும் முந்நாழிச்சை அரி செல்வி-து[॥*]

Fourth Plate: Second Side.

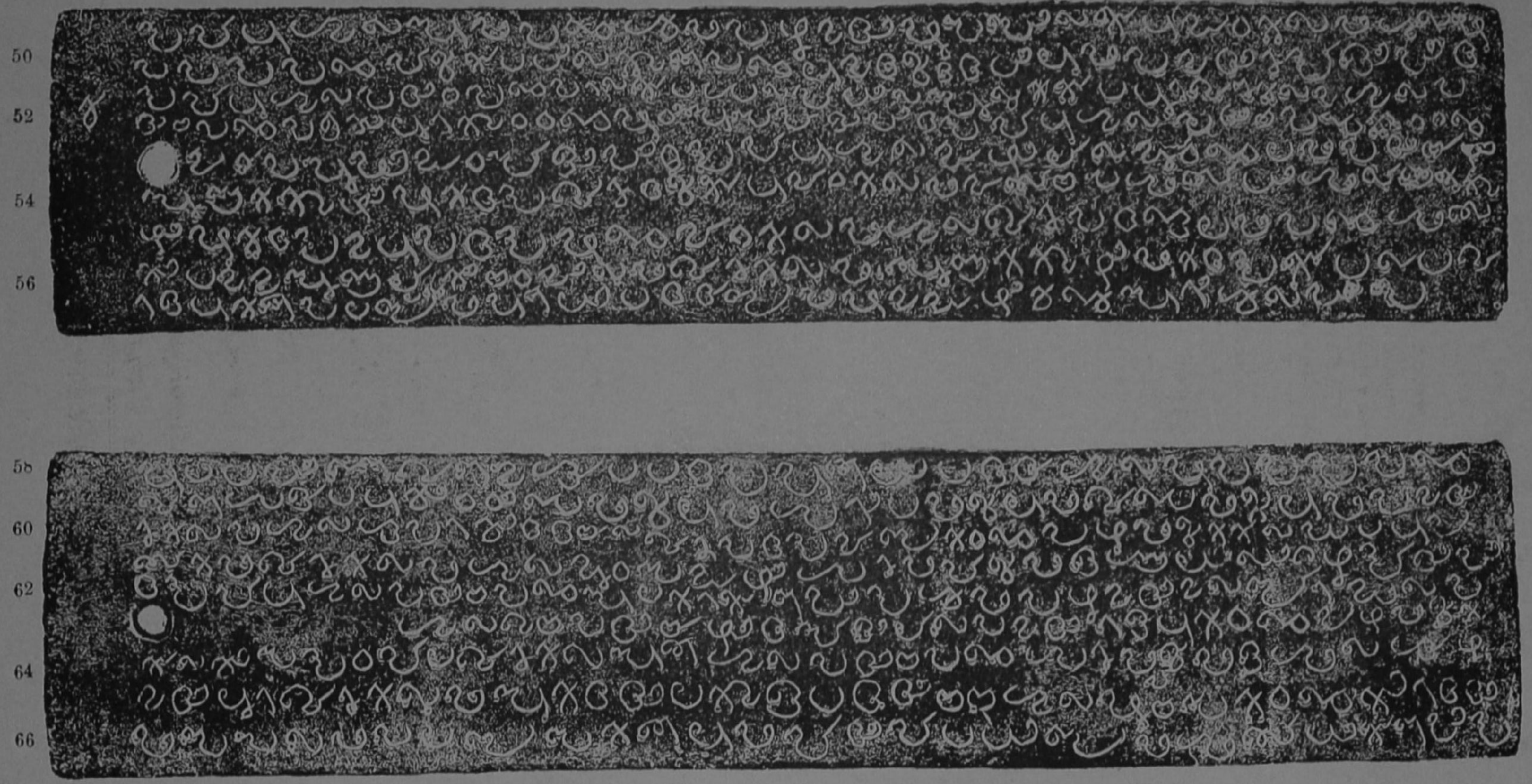
58. முட்டவிளை இளந்தோட்டத்து புரையிடத்தா[ல்*] நெல் முப்பது ப-றை[॥*]
59. இளவெணாட்டு சிற்றிடை மலையும் பெரிட மலையும் இடைமலையும் ப-ந்தி-
60. ருகலம்[।*] நெல் தெவர்சித்தனுல் இருபத்துநாலு கற்றை[॥*] உழ-மலைக்கால் விட்டு உ-
61. லொகம் இருகலம்[।*] நெல் நூற்று நாழி[॥*] பெரும்பாலைமண் பொயிலி எழுதூணி வி-
62. த்துபாடு[।*] நெல் பதின்பறை அயகர கொள்வது[॥*] செம்பழுந்தி நல்லூர் நிலம்[।*]
63. [3]நெல் ஒன்பதினாழித்தூணியால் பந்திரண்டு கற்றை [॥*] உழம-லைக்-
64. கால் சிறுதுறவாய் இருகல அரை[।*] நெல் பதின்பறை[॥*] பெரும்-பாலைமண்[4] மெல் தொழு-
65. ந்தியூர் இருகலம்[॥*] அகத்தியகுண்டத்தின்னு நெல் முன்று கற்றை [॥*] கீர்த்தி-
66. மங்கலம் வயலுங் கரையும் பாதி பாட்டிலும் மெலொடி கொள்வது [॥*]

1 The Tamil numeral ௪ is marked on the left margin of this plate.

2 The Syllables யறை are written below the line.

3 At the commencement of this line, there is a vacant space for five letters. Some words like இருகலம், முக்கலம் *etc.* seem to have been omitted to be incised.

4 The பா of this word is entered below the line.



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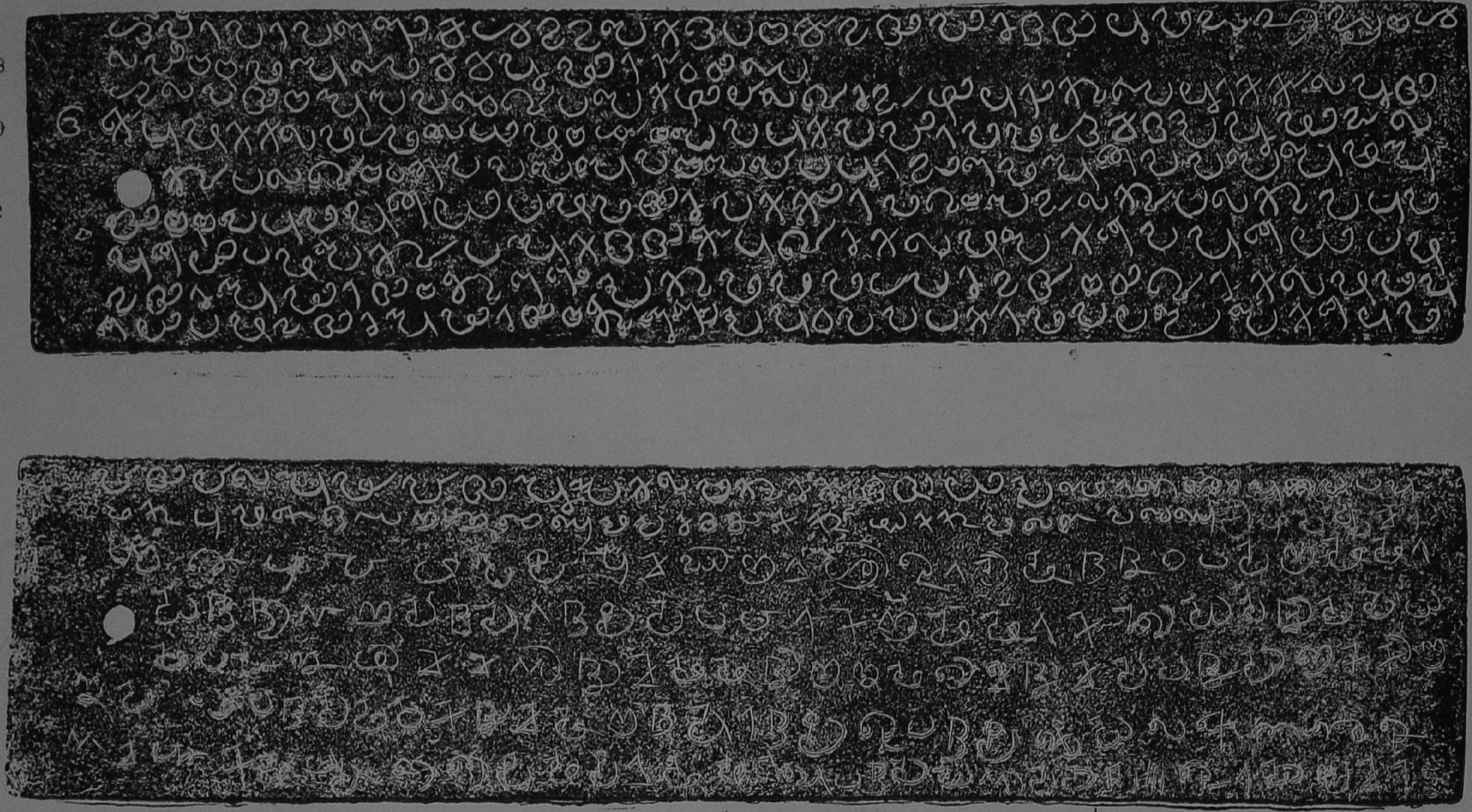

K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer.

Fifth Plate:[1] *First Side.*

67. தெவர்(வர்)பள்ளிச்[2] செந்நங் கண்டன் சாந்தி விருத்தியும் ஸஹஸ்ரன் செ-
68. லவின்னும் அமைச்ச பூமி[||*] ஈராற்றிடை[3]
69. நெல் பதின் அறுபறை இடங்கழியால் இருநாழி யுரி[||*] குவையுர்க்-காலபூதி-
70. கொடு முக்கலம்[|*] மெலொடி முன்றென்று[||*] வடுகப்பிரம்ம தெ-சத்து பூமிநால்
71. கூடல் ஒன்றரைப் பங்கு[|*] பனைங்காட்டூர் நீளம் அரைப் பங்கும்[|*] அ-
72. தின்னு படும் புரையிடமும்[|*] திருவக்கிரம் ஒன்றுநால் கூடல்குப-டும்
73. புரையிடமுங்[|*] கூட அகத்திகொடு இருகலமுங்[|*] கரைப் புரையி-டமு-
74. ந்[|*] திருஅமிர்தின் னெள்ளிது[||*] கும்மம் பெருந்தான்றி இருக-லமும் பு-
75. ரையிடமுந் திருஅமிர்தின் னெள்ளிது[||*] புறப்படகாரம் வயலுங்-கரையும்

Fifth Plate: Second Side.

76. பாதியால் அமாவாதி ஆறு கலம்[||*] குருகாத்தியி லுமை[4][ன்னுற] புரையிடவு-
77. ம் கூடும்[||*] கொண்டென்னறை அம்பருத்திக்குழிக்கும் ஒரொ ப-றை அ[5]கிழப்பெரூர்
78. வெணாடு வாழ்ந்து அருளின்ற ஸ்ரீ இரவி மாத்தாண்டவன்ம்மர்
79. மித்திரானந்தபுரத்து பட்டாரகன்ம்மர்க்கு[6] நியதிப்படி
80. மட நானாழிச்சரி திருமமுதின்னும் ஒரு திருநந்தாவிளக்கின்-
81. னும் கூட தந்மமாக திருவான[ந்*]தபுரத்து இடத்துள் விலகொள்ளு[ம்*] [இ]-
82. [ரா]ச[பொ]கம்[மொ]ள்ளதும் து[றமு]ம் கூட தந்நிரிப்பது[7][||*] இரவிபெரூர்.

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1 The Tamil numeral ௫ is marked on the left margin of this plate.

2 The letters வர் are engraved twice. The repetition must be cancelled.

3 The latter half of this line is not engraved. It should have contained the proper name of the land or village and its sowing capacity.

4 After this the writing appears different till பறை அ of the next line.

5 What follows அ is in a later script

6 Read பட்டாரர்க்கு. Over the syllables கன்ம a few dots are marked to indicate that they must be deleted.

7 Read தந்திருப்பது.

Translation.

(Lines 1—4). Hail! Prosperity! In the month of Vṛśchika, when Jupiter stood in Dhanus, Kṛishṇajñapaḷārar, having been pleased to order, all classes of lands, set apart for the sacred requirements (*tiruchcheṉṉaḍai*)[1] of the god (*Bhaṭṭāraka*) of Mitrānandapuram, (*are recorded*) as engraved (*before*).

(Ll. 5—17). Beginning with the month of Mithuna, when Jupiter stood in Tulā, in order to meet the daily expences of one dish (*kalam*) of sacred meal (*agram*), Kuṉṟaṉ Kēraḷaṉ of Peruṅguḷam granted seventy-two *paṟai* and six *nāḻi* (*as measured*) by the *iḍaṅgaḻi* and three *uḷakku* of paddy which was due to him (*as his share of the produce*) on the land Tāṉaneḍiya-Pērilikkōḍu (*requiring*) four *kalam* (*of seed*) in Veṉbāykkuṉṟam and the (*land*) of Maṉṉarai (*requiring*) two *kalam* (*of seed*)—in all, land (*requiring*) six *kalam* (*of seed*). (*He also gave*) fifteen *paṟai* of paddy from Tāṉaneḍiya-Indaṉūr included in Perumaṉṉūr-vaṭṭam in Kuvaiyāṟu; five *paṟai* from Mēlīndaṉūr; five *paṟai* from Vañjamaṉ; ten *paṟai* of paddy from Varaiyaṟai in Kolachchaimūlai; five *paṟai* of paddy from the western half of Mudukāḍu and five *paṟai* of paddy from Piṉaṟkōḍu. (*Thus*) in all, (*the quantity of*) paddy assigned was one hundred and seventeen *paṟai* (*as measured*) by the *paṟai* holding ten *nāḻi*, six *nāḻi* (*as measured*) by the *iḍaṅgaḻi* and three *uḷakku*. (*This*) shall be received under the head of (*expences required for*) Śittiṟai-vishu (*festival*).

(Ll. 18-24). The following are the lands granted by Śēndaṉ Kaṇḍaṉ of Dēvarpaḷḷi for (*expending*) twice daily, five *nāḻi* of rice, (*one*) half for sacred offerings and (*the other*) half for sacred meal and condiment:—

One hundred and fifty *paṟai* (*of paddy*) (*as measured*) by the *paṟai* holding ten *nāḻi*, out of the (*income from the land called*) Dēvar-Puḷimā in Īrāṟṟiḍai (*requiring*) seven *kalam* (*of seed*).

The Veḷḷaṅgoḷḷi (*land*) of Kaṇichchakkōḍu belonging to (*the village of*) Mudākkāl and (*requiring*) five *paṟai* of seed: the owner's share (*mēloḍi*) from this is one in three. The *kaḷappaṟai* and *talaittaḍi* (*lands*) of Nechchikkōḍu (*requiring*) (*one*) *kalam* (*of seed*) (with the income of) ten *paṟai* of paddy.

(Ll. 24-35). The same Śēndaṉ Kaṇḍaṉ gave the following lands for perpetual lamps:—

(*One*) hundred and ten *paṟai* of paddy in all (*accruing from*) Kaṇichchakkōḍu in Mudākkāl as well as Mēl-Kāḍiyūr (*whose sowing capacity is*) three *kalam*, and the Veḷḷaṅgoḷḷi, Paṭṭattuḍavai, Eruma-āḷ, Muṭṭaviḷai (*lands*) in Nechchikkōḍu together with Oṟṟimā situated to the west of Āriyappaḷaññi.

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1 Though ஈடை by itself, may mean 'temple', compounded with the word *śel*, it conveys the sense 'scale of current expenses': compare a similar usage in No. 153 of *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III. p. 324.

Fifteen *paṟai* of paddy from the land (*called*) Uraiyūrkkōḍu, (*requiring*) eight *kalam* (*of seed*) and belonging to (*the village of*) Mudākkāl.

The proprietor's share (*mēlodi*) of one in four shall be received from Poṅṅaṟai (*requiring*) (*one*) *kalam* (*of seed*) (and belonging to) Naṇṇāṭṭukkāl)[1]

Koṉṟaiyaṟai belonging to Iḍaimalaikkāl, (*requiring one*) *kalam* (*of seed*) (*with its*) proprietor's share (*mēlodi*) of one in three.

Pālaikōḍu belonging to Perumbālaimaṉ (*requiring*) six *kalam* (*of seed*) (*with its income of*) fifteen *paṟai* of paddy.

Peruṉīr belonging to Śiṟṟiḍaimalai (*requiring*) six *kalam* (*of seed*) (*with its income of*) fifty *paṟai* of paddy.

Perumbaṉaiyūr in Uḷiyāṟṟuṟai (*requiring*) three *kalam* (*of seed*) (*with the income of*) ten *paṟai* of paddy.

Thirty *nāḻi* of rice (*accruing*) from Śiṟupāṇaiyam in Māṇikkāl.

The rice (*accruing*) from the land called Maṇalpaḷaṅṅi (*requiring*) two *kalam* (*of seed*) together with the land surrounding the house (*in it*).

(Ll. 35-66). The (*following*) lands exist for sacred lamps:—

Peruṅguḷam in Śiṅgakuvaiyāṟu (*requiring*) four *kalam* (*of seed*) and Tachchakkōḍu (requiring) two *kalam* (*of seed*), together (*yielding an income of*) forty *paṟai* of paddy.

Mēl-Tachchakkōḍu (*requiring*) two *kalam* (*of seed*), (*with its*) (*income of*) eight *paṟai* of paddy.

Kuḷaikkāḍu in Mudākkāl (*requiring*) two *kalam* (*of seed*) (*with its income of*) fifteen *paṟai* of paddy.

The land of Viṭṭikōḍu in Māṇikkāl (*requiring*) one *kalam* (*of seed*) (*with its income of*) twenty-two *paṟai* and a half of paddy.

Kuṇḍayam in Āḷāyakkōṭṭai (*requiring*) three *kalam* (*of seed*) (*with its income of*) forty-two *paṟai* and a half of paddy.

Puṉṉūr (*requiring*) seven *tūṇi* of seed (*with its income*) of seven *paṟai* and a half of paddy.

Veyvēṟu in Māṇikkāl (*requiring*) four *kalam* (*of seed*) (*with its income of*) seven *paṟai* of paddy.

Pūvarai, Kīḻpūvarai, Śiṟutāḷarai and Iḍaikkaṟkāḍu (*requiring*) four *kalam* (*of seed*).

Veṅṅimaṉ (*requiring*) three *kalam* (*of seed*) and Kaḍuvēlamālaikuḷam (*requiring*) two *kalam* (*of seed*),—altogether (*land requiring*) nine *kalam* (*of seed*), *with the income of*) eighty *paṟai* of paddy.

Neḍumaṉ belonging to Kīḻupulam (*requiring*) eight *kalam* (*of seed*) (*with its*) propritor's share of one in four.

1 It is also possible to take Kālapoṅṅaṟai as being situated in Naṇṇāḍu.

Purani in the same place, (*requiring*) eight *kalam* (*of seed*) (*with its*) proprietor's share.

Idaiyarman in Venpāykkunram (*requiring*) twelve *tūni* (*of seed*) (*with the income of*) ten *parai* of paddy.

Viliñattuvāy in Turiyūrkkāl (*requiring*) (*one*) *kalam* (*of seed*) (*with the income of*) ten *parai* of paddy.

Nennanerai (*requiring*) (*one*) *kalam* (*of seed*) (*with the income of*) twenty-two *parai* and a half of paddy.

Kallarai in Andamānūr (*requiring*) six *tūni* of seed (*with the income of*) five *parai* of paddy.

Mūññilkōdu in Śembalundi (*requiring*) four *kalam* (*of seed*) (*with the income of*) thirty *parai* of paddy.

The *kulavarai* and *talaittadi* (*lands*) in Pālaikkōdu (*requiring*) twelve *tūni* of seed (*with the income of*) ten *parai* of paddy.

Ālaikkōttūr in Paralkkōttelvāyil (*requiring*) two *kalam* (*of seed*) (*with the income of*) ten *parai* of paddy.

Kurraraimuri in Vañjiyūr (*requiring*) six *tūni* of seed (*with the income of*) ten *parai* of paddy.

The Kurrarai-urā land (*requiring*) four *tuni* of seed (*with the income of*) (*one*) hundred and fifty *nāli* of paddy (*as measured*) by the *nāli*.

Irutalaikkōdu in Ānaikkulimugam (*requiring*) four *kalam* (*of seed*) with the proprietor's share of one in four.

Neduvattumurai in Mēlānaikkulimugam (*requiring*) four *kalam* (*of seed*) (*with the income of*) twenty-five *parai* of paddy.

Land lying to the west of it called Ānaiyarai (*requiring*) two *kalam* (*of seed*).

From the *karaipadal* and *purayidam* of Ānaikulimugam (*requiring*) two *kōttai* (*of seed*), shall be received three *nāli* of good rice.

Thirty *parai* of paddy from the *puraiyidam* of Ilantōttam in Muttavilai.

Śirridaimalai, Pēridaimalai and Idaimalai in Ila-Vēnādu (*requiring*) twelve *kalam* (*of seed*), (*with the income of*) twenty-four *karrai* of paddy (*as measured*) by Dēvarśittan.

Vittu-ulōgam in Ulamalaikkāl (*requiring*) two *kalam* (*of seed*) (*with the income of*) hundred *nāli* of paddy.

Pōyili in Perumbālaiman (*requiring*) seven *tūni* of seed (*with the income of*) ten *parai* of paddy which shall be taken as its *ayakara*.

Land in Śembalundinallūr (*with the income of*) twelve *karrai* of paddy (*as measured*) by the *tūni* holding nine *nāli*.

Śiruturavāy in Ulamalaikkāl (*requiring*) two *kalam* and a half (*of seed*) (*with the income of*) ten *parai* of paddy.

Mēl-Tolundiyur in Perumbālaiman (*requiring*) two *kalam* (*of seed*).

Three *kaṟṟai* of paddy from Agattiyakuṇḍam.

The proprietor's share (*mēlōḍi*) from the *vayal*, *karai*, and *pādippāḍu* of Kīrttimaṅgalam shall be received.

(Ll. 67-70). The following (*are the*) lands given by Śēndaṉ Kaṇḍaṉ of Dēvarpaḷḷi for the employment of worshippers and for the expenses of *sahasran*.

Īrāṟṟiḍai (*with the income of*) sixteen *paṟai*, two *nāḷi* (*as measured*) by the *iḍangaḷi* and (*one*) *uri* of paddy.

Pūdikōḍu in Kuvaiyūrkkāl (*requiring*) three *kalam* (*of seed*) with the proprietor's share of one in three.

(Ll. 70-74). In addition to one share and a half (*which is*) the excess in the lands belonging to Vaḍuga-Brahmadēśam, half of the long share in Paṉaiñāṭṭūr (*inclusive of*) the *puraiyiḍam* attached to it, and also the *puraiyiḍam* (*which is*) in excess of the lands set apart for one sacred meal, as well as Agattikōḍu (*requiring*) two *kalam* (*of seed*), along with (*its*) *karaippuraiyiḍam*; are (*assigned*) for sacred offerings.

(Ll. 74-75). Kummam-Peruntāṉṟi (*requiring*) two *kalam* (*of seed*) and its *puraiyiḍam* are also for sacred offerings.

(Ll. 75-77). For *amāvādi*, is assigned half of the field (*vayal*) and *karai* (*belonging to*) Purappaḍagāram (*with an income of*) six *kalam* of paddy.

Umai...nnuṟa in Kurugātti together with its *puraiyiḍam* shall also be added.

Koṇḍaṉṉerai and Ambaruttikkuḷi, each (*with an income of*) one *paṟai* (*of paddy*).

(Ll. 77-82). The glorious Ravimārttāṇḍavarman, who was pleased to rule Vēṇāḍu (*with his capital at*) Kīḻappērūr, gave to the god (*bhaṭṭāraka*) of Mitrānandapuram as (*his*) charity all the rents (*rājabhōga*) and *tuṟam* which he was obtaining on purchases (made) in his place at Tiruvānandapuram, for the daily sacred rice offering of four *nāḷi* of good rice and for one sacred perpetual lamp.

(L. 82). Iravi-Pērūr.

A COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MITRANANDAPURAM MUTT.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on both sides of a single copper-plate belonging to the Mitrānandapuram *matha*. It was obtained on a short loan from a Potti gentleman in whose possession it was, by Mr. V. Srinivasa Sastri, Smṛitiviśārada, Pandit of the Archæological Department. I edit it from one set of impressions taken under his supervision.

The alphabet of the inscription is Vaṭṭeḻuttu and the language is Tamil similar to that employed in the set of copper-plates belonging to the same *maṭha* and edited above, pages 1 ff. The preservation of the record is good. But, it

must be remarked, that the engraver was not careful in incising the document. Mistakes of spelling and omission of letters and passages are numerous and we note the following:—

Tūlā (*l.* 1) for *tulā*: *Mitrānda* (*l.* 1) for *Mitrānanda*: *Śūvākaraṉ* for *Śuvākaraṉ*, throughout: *Kiruṇḍaṉ* (*l.* 4) for *Kiruṭṇaṉ*: *ṭārakaḷ* (*l.* 6) for *Baṭārakaḷ*: *aṟiyumu* (*l.* 8) for *aṟiyum*: *idita* (*l.* 8f.) for *idiṉu*: *aṟupaduṟai* (*l.* 3a) for *aṟupadu paṟai*: *muptupattiru* (*ll.* 3a & 3b) for *muppattiru*: *koḍiḷakku* (*l.* 11) for *koḍi viḷakku*: *aṟiyumu* (*l.* 13) for *aṟiyum*: *Śūvākaraṉṉiṉ* (*l.* 16) for *Śuvākaraṉ Maṇiyaṉ*: *tūvādeśi* (*ll.* 16-18) for *tuvādeśi*. A whole passage had been omitted immediately after *muppadu* in line 3 and this passage was subsequently engraved at the end of the plate in smaller characters, perhaps for want of space, and continued on the left margin in four short lines. A similar omission in line 10 after *ichchelaru* having occurred, it was rectified by engraving the omitted letters on the right margin in two lines. Here again we have to point out that *iḷi* stands for *iru-nāḷi* and that *amardi* has to be corrected into *amirdu*.

Among the dialectic forms of words in the record may be put down: *eḻunnaruḻichcha* (*l.* 4) for *eḻundaruḻuvitta*: *tāḷikkirāmam* (*l.* 5) for *sāḷigrāmam*: *śeydadiṉu koḷvidu* (*l.* 5) for *śeyradukku* or *seydadukku koḷvadu*; *ari* (*ll.* 5 & 12) for *ariśi*: *pandiru* (*l.* 7) for *panniru*: *śeyiṉṟa* (*l.* 8) for *seykiṉṟa*: *idiṉu* (*l.* 10) for *idaṟku*: *achchiṉu* (*l.* 19) for *achchukku*.

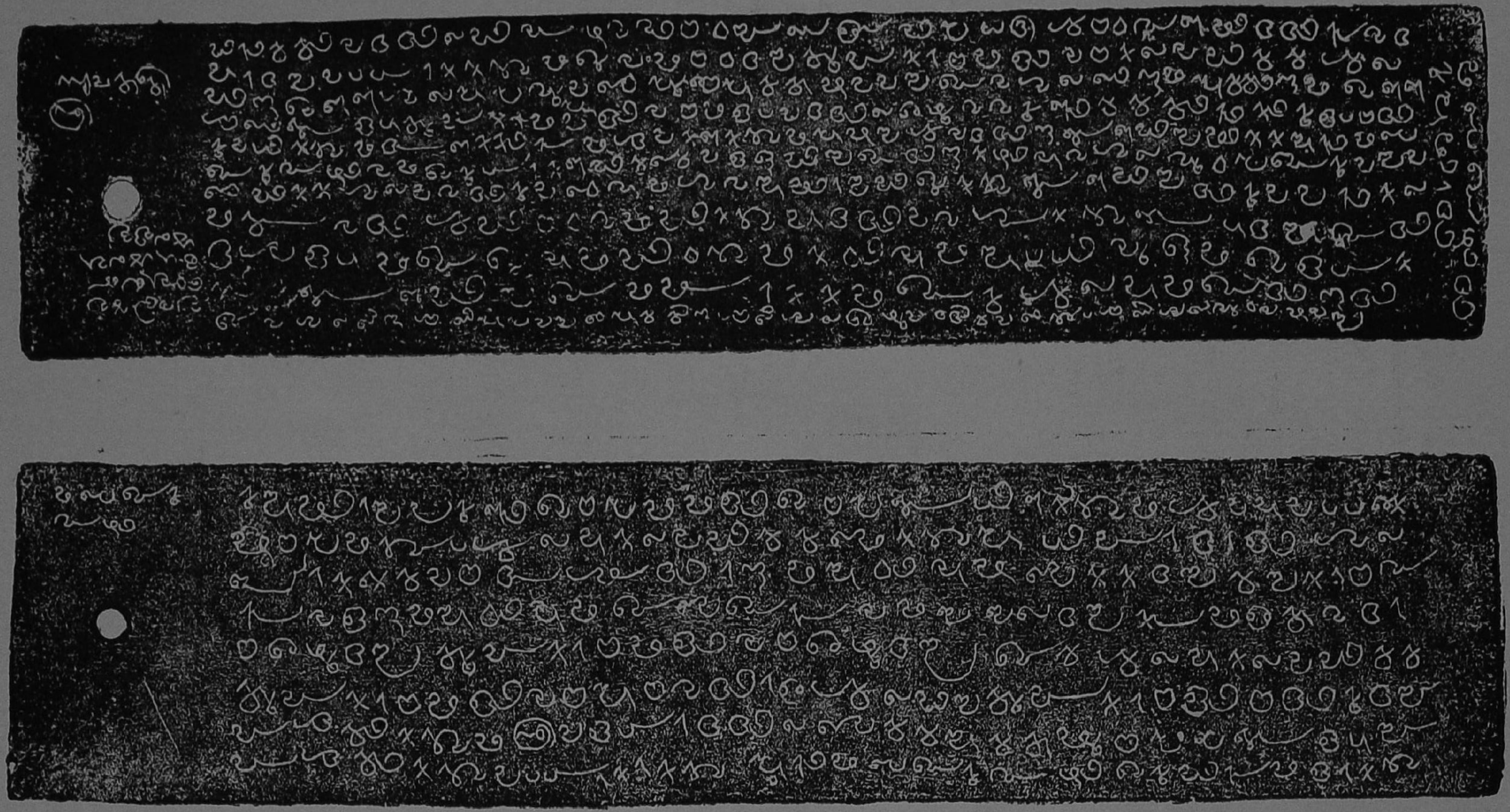
Pichchai, which occurs in line 6, stands for *bhikshai*. In the phrase '*baṭārakaḷ pichchai paṇṇuvidu*' (*l.* 6), the term *baṭārakaḷ* evidently means a *sannyāsi*, though ordinarily it is used to denote 'god' as in lines 2 and 18.

The record states that Śuvākaraṉ Maṇiyaṉ of Malaimaṉṟam set up in the maṇḍapa of the Mitrānandapuram temple, the image of Śrī-Kṛishṇa-Tiruvaḍi and an un-specified number of *sāḷigrāmams* and made a gift of 600 *paṟai* of paddy and 30 elephant marked coins.

Out of the annual interest of 132 *paṟai* of paddy, accruing from this gift, it was ordered that 120 *paṟai* of paddy should be used for preparing rice offerings to the deities and for feeding a *sannyāsin*, the remaining 12 *paṟai* of paddy being utilised for purchasing ghee. And it is said that the donor also gave a vessel for cooking (*uruḷi*), a bell and a lamp-stand made in the shape of a creeper. He is further stated to have made a gift of 3 coins for feeding a Brāhmaṇa and for making offerings to the god on the days of *dvādaśi*. As witnesses to the gift are mentioned Kēśavaṉ Dāmōdiraṉ of Taraṇinallūr, Śaṅkaraṉ Nārāyaṇaṉ of Vaikkam, Kāmaṉ Sundaraṉ of Irāyamaṅgalam.

Of the places mentioned in the inscription, Mitrānandapuram is, as has already been noted, a quarter of Trivandrum, situated not far from the Padmanābhasvāmin temple; Vaikkam is the headquarters of a Taluk in the Kōṭṭayam division; Irāyamaṅgalam is a pakuthy in the Kunnattunāḍ Taluk; Taraṇinallūr is in the Cochin State. The last is the native place of the Nambūdirippāḍ, who has got the *tantri* right in the Padmanābhasvāmin temple. I hear that he is also in charge of certain other temples in the Travancore State. He belongs to a much respected family noted for its wealth and learning and is highly regarded. We

No. 2 MITRANANDAPURAM ODD PLATE



K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer.

note the above fact as it is likely that the attestation made in this copper-plate document belonging to the Mitrānandapuram *matha* by a temple manager (*adiyār*) who was a native of Taraṇinallūr, might suggest an early connection of this Nambūdirippāḍ of that place with the temples in the Travancore State.[1]

From a careful comparison made between the palæography of the subjoined record with many other dated ones ranging from the 1st century of the Kollam era to the 5th, I find that it can be assigned to the middle of the 4th century of the Kollam era i. e. about the latter half of the 12th century A. D.

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ[2] [||*] விரிச்சியத்தில் வியாழந் நின்ற தூலா[3] ஞாயிறு யறு சென்ற நாள் மித்திரா[ன*]ந்த-
2. புரத்து பட்டாரக[ர்*]க்கு மலையமன்றத்து சூவாகரன்[4] மணியன் கல்ப்பி-ச்ச செல-
3. வினு ஒள்ள நெல் அறுநூறு[5] பறை ஆனை அச்சு முப்பது[||*] இந்நெல்லி-னும் அச்சினும் ஒள்ள
4. பொலி கொண்டு சூவாகரம்[6] மணியன் மண்டபத்தில் எழுந்நருளிச்ச சிரி கிருண்டன் தி-
5. ருவடிக்கும் தாளக்கிராம தேவகள்க்கும் அமுது செய்ததினு கொள்விது [||*] மிக்க அரி மடை
6. இருநாழி[யு]ம் ஒரு [ப*]டார[ர்*]கள் பிச்சை பண்ணுவிது[||*] இதினு கழியுந் நெல் நூற்று இருபது ப-
7. றை நிக்க நெல் பந்திரு பறையும் நெய் அமிர்து விலக்கு கொள்விது[||*] திருப்பரிகல-
8. ம் சாந்தி செயின்ற நம்பிக்கு [பு]த்தியந்நொக்கு கொடுத்து இதி-
9. த[7] வெண்டும் இலையும் விறகும் கறியும் அட்டி யூணும் ஒண்டாக்-
10. கிக் கொள்விது[||*] இம்மார்க்கம் இச்செலவு[8] மடை இழி[9] திரு அமர்-திம்[10] இதினு தி-

3a. இந்நெல்லினு பொலி அறுபது [ப*]றை அச்சினு பொலி நெல் எழுபத்தி-ரு பறை கூடபொலி நெல் நூற்று முப்பது[11]

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1 Mr. Nagamaiya notes in his Travancore Manual that Paraśurāma conferred on two families the right of 'ruling priest' in the temples or Malabar and that one of the families is the Taranallur Nambūdiripāḍ.

2 The words ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ are engraved on the left margin of the plate in two lines: read ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ

3 Read தூலா.

4 Read சுவாகரன்.

5 The று of நூறு is entered below the line.

6 Read சுவாகரன்.

7 Read °னு.

8 The passage மடை இழி திரு அமர்தி is engraved on the right margin of this side.

9 Read இருநாழி.

10 Read அமிர்தும்.

11 Cancel து.

3*b*. பத்திரு ப-
3*c*. றையுங் கொ-
3*d*. ண்டு செலவு
3*e*. செல்விது [।।*]

Second Side.

11. ரு அமிர்து உருளி ஒன்றும் மணி ஒன்று[ம்*] கொடி[வி*]ளக்கும் செ-
ப்புவட்டகை
12. மூன்றும் கூட செலவு கல்பிச்சமைக்கு அடியார் தரணிநெல்-
13. லூர்க் கெசவன் தாமொதிரனும் அறியுமு[1] [।।*] வைக்கத்து சங்கரன் நா
14. ராயணனும் அறியும் [।।*] இவை இராயமங்கலத்து காமஞ்சுந்தர-
15. ன் எழுத்து [।।*] சூவாகரன்[2] மணியன் எழுத்து [।।*] இச்செலவு கல்ப-
பிச்ச
16. சூவாகரன்[3] மணியன் அனந்திரஞ் செல்விது [।।*] சூவாகரன்[4] [ம*]ணி-
[ய*]ன் திருத்தூ[5]
17. வாதெசிக்கும் ஸ்ரீபண்டாரத்தில் வைச்ச அச்சு மூன்றுங் கொண்டு
தூ[6]
18. வாதெசிக்கு பட்டாரகர்க்கு அரிமடை இருநாழி ஒரு பிராமணர்க்கு
19. மடை[7] இருநாழி [।।*]

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! on the 15th day, expired, in the month of Tulā, when Jupiter stood in Vṛiśchika, Śuvākaraṉ Maṇiyaṉ of Malaiyamaṉṟam ordered (*certain*) expenses (*to be incurred in the temple*) of the god at Mitrānandapuram (*and*) provided six hundred *paṟai* of paddy and thirty *āṉai-achchu* (i. e. *coins bearing elephant mark*). Having received the interest of sixty *paṟai* on this (i. e. *the above said six hundred paṟai of*) paddy and the interest of seventy-two *paṟai* of paddy on the *achchu*, in all (one) hundred and thirty-two *paṟai* of paddy,—the expenses shall be met. For offerings made to the god Śrī-Krishṇa-Tiruvaḍi and to the *Sālagrāma-Dēvas*, which Śuvākaraṉ Maṇiyaṉ had set up in the *maṇḍapa*, the interest (accruing) from this (*quantity of*) paddy and *achchu* shall be taken. With the balance of rice *viz.* two *nāḻi*, one Bhaṭāra shall be fed. Twelve *paṟai* of paddy, (*that would remain*) after deducting (*one*) hundred and twenty *paṟai* of paddy (required) for this expenditure, shall be taken for purchasing ghee offering.

1 Read அறியும்.
2 Read சுவாகரன்.
3 Read சுவாகரன்.
4 Read சுவாகரன்.
5 Read திருவாதெசி.
6 Read திருவாதெசி.
7 மடை இருநாழி is iucised on the left margin.

Giving the Nambi, who performs the *śānti*, sacred vessels for (cooking) one dish[1] and providing him also with leaves, fire-wood and vegetables required for it, meals shall be prepared. The ordering, in this manner, of this (i. e. the abovesaid) expense of (supplying) sacred offerings with two *nāḻi* of rice, together with one *uruḷi*[2] for (cooking) the sacred offering, one bell, one *koḍi-viḷakku* (i. e. a lamp-stand in the shape of a creeper) and three copper *vaṭṭakai*[3] (required) for this expense, is known to the Aḍiyār[4] Kēśavaṉ Dāmōdaraṉ of Taraṉinallūr. Śaṅkaraṉ Nārāyaṇaṉ of Vaikkam also knows this. This is the signature of Kāman Sundaran of Irayamaṅgalam. (*This is*) the signature of Śuvākaran Maṇiyan. The next successor[5] (or relation) of Śuvākaraṉ Maṇiyaṉ, who instituted this expense, shall conduct it. Having received the three *achchu* which Śuvākaraṉ Maṇiyaṉ had (*further*) deposited in the temple treasury for (*the expenses connected with*) the sacred *dvādaśī* feeding, two *nāḻi* of rice to the Bhaṭāraka and two *nāḻi* of rice to one Brāhmaṇa (shall be given).

No. 3— On the back wall of the Brahma shrine at Mitranadapuram.

This inscription, which is engraved on the back wall of the Brahmā shrine at Mitrānandapuram, is left unfinished. Evidently, its object was to register a gift of certain incomes of paddy and gold, to the shrine of Dakshiṇa-Svarṇamukai-Bhaṭāra, made in the presence of Rāmajña-Bhaṭārar-Tiruvaḍi, in the *maṇḍapa* on the southern enclosure of the temple at Mitrānandapuram, by Pūrṇakīrtti-Rāmavarmar of Pulamaṉ in Vēṇāṭṭ-Iḷaṅkūṟu.

Pulamaṉ is a village in the Koṭṭārakkarai Taluk as well as in the Pattanāpuram Taluk. Which of the two places is here intended it is not not possible to know. Vēṇāṭṭ-Iḷaṅkūṟu[6] occurs in the Tiruvaṭṭāṟu inscription of Vīra-Udaiyamārtāṇḍavarman. *Taṉṉadil* in line 2 stands for *sannadhiyil*.

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [||*][7] மகர வியாழத்தில் விரிச்சிக ஞாயிற்று மித்திரானந்தபுரத்து தெக்கின் சுற்றுமண்டபத்தில் ராமஜ்ஞ பட்டாரர்
2. திருவடி தன்னதில் வெணாட்டிளங்கூறு புலமண் [பூர்ணகீர்த்தி ரா]மவர்மர் வழுதிகுளத்தாறும்[8] கொயில்வெள்ளயூர் [பூ]மி-
3. மெல் விரயூர் விருத்தி[யொ]டு கூடக் கொள்ளுந் நெல்லும் ர[க்ஷைப்பொன்]னும் கொண்டு தக்ஷிணஸ்வணமுகைப் பட்டார[9]

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1. If there is no omission of letters in *puttiyannōkku*, it must be cansidered a corruption of *bhukti onnukku*.
2. A wide mouthed bell-metal vessel.
3. This is pobably வட்டில் 'a platter'.
4. By this term is perhaps meant a temple servant or manager.
5. The passage might also be taken to mean 'the expenses must be conducted after the demise of Śuvākaraṉ Maṇiyaṉ who instituted it'. In this case, the grant must have been made at his last moments.
6. This name has been read as "Kōḷiḍaikkūṟu by the late Professor Sundaram Pillai (*Ind. Ant* Vol. XXIV. p. 278) and as Iḷankuḍai by Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao (above, Vol. I. p. 296).
7. There is a small scratch before ம.
8. This has perhaps to be read "த்தாறும்".
9. The further portion of this inscription in not engraved.

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the month of Vṛišchika, when Jupiter was in Makara, at the *maṇḍapa* on the southern enclosure of the Mitrānandapuram (*temple*), and in the presence of Rāmajñabhaṭārar-Tiruvaḍi......... obtaining paddy and the *rakshābhōga* gold, which Pūrṇakīrtti Rāmavarmar of Pulamaṉ in Vēṇāṭṭ-Iḷaṅkūṟu used to derive from the lands of Vaḷudikuḷam and Kōyil-Veḷḷayūr along with Viraiyūr-Virutti .... to (*the god*) Dakshiṇasvarṇamukai-Bhaṭārar.

No. 4.— On the south wall of the Brahma Shrine.

This inscription is engraved on the south wall of the Brahmā shrine at Mitrānandapuram. Its preservation is not very bad, though the letters are not incised deep enough. The alphabet employed is Vaṭṭeḻuttu and the language Tamiḻ. Sanskrit letters in Grantha characters are used in *svasti śrī*, *Rāmajñabha°*, *Dakshiṇa-svarṇamu°* and *namaskāram* in line 1; and *rakshai*, *rakshābhōgamā* and *namaskāramum* in line 2.

The wording of the deed is rather loose. The object of the inscription is to register gift of the *rakshābhōga*, amounting to one hundred and thirty-two *paṟai* of paddy, derived by Dēvaṉ Chakrāyudaṉ of Śaṅkaramaṅgalam, to the temple of Dakshiṇasvarṇamukai-Bhaṭāra at Mitrānandapuram, for the daily expense of four *nāḻi* of rice for offerings and *namaskāram*, which required 120 *paṟai* of paddy and for vegetables, tamarind, salt, pepper and leaves which required 12 *paṟai* of paddy. Evidently, the gift was made in the presence of Rāmajñabhaṭārar.

As noted already, such usages as *eḍattu* for *iḍattu*, *pandiru* for *paṉṉiru*, and the dative form *śelaviṉṉu* for *śelamukku* and *śeydadiṉṉu* for *śeydadukku* are quite common to the western dialect. *Oru-pu* and *iru-pu* are still used in some places to denote 'single crop and double crop'. The forms *nānāḻichchai* and *paṟaichchai* for *nānāḻi* and *paṟai* are worthy of note. In these cases, the *chai* is an expletive.

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [।।*] மகரத்தில்ப் புகு வியாழந் நின்ற மகர ஞாயிற்று மித்[தி]ரான
ந்தபுரத்து தெக்கின் திருச்சுற்றுமண்டபத்தில ராமஜ்ஞபட்டா[ரர்] திருவ
டி இருந்தருளியெடத்து தக்ஷிணஸ்வண்ண[மு]கை பட்டாரகர்[க்*]கு நிய
தி மடையால் நாநாழிச்சை செய்தரி திருவமிர்து நமஸ்காரமும்........[2]

2. ப்பிரசான சங்கரமங்கலத்து தெவஞ்சக்கிராயுதன் தன்னுடய ரக்ஷை எப்பெர்
ப்பட்டதின்மெலும் ரக்ஷாபோகமாக இச்செலவின்னு ஓராண்டால் நெல்
நூற்றிருபது பறைச்சை செய்தும் நமஸ்காரமும் அமுர்துசெய்ததின்
னுந் நியதி [இருமு]றி த...... காயும் இருகழஞ்சு புளியும் உப்பும் மிள
கும் இலைக்கும் ஒ-

3. ராண்டால் நெல் பந்திருபறையும் கூட நெல் இருபூவகையுந் நூற்றுமுப்பத்தி
ருபறைக்கும் புறைக்கூலி கூட நெ-

1. The inscription is unfinished.
2. This gap may be filled up with the syllables பூவகை.

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the month of Makara of the year when Jupiter had entered and stood in Makara, on the occasion when Rānajñabhaṭārar Tiruvaḍi was pleased to remain in the *maṇḍapa* of the southern enclosure of the Mitrānandapuram (*temple*), Dēvaṉ Chakrāyudaṉ of Piraśāna-Saṅkaramaṅgalam, [whose lands fell under the class of double crop], (*gave*) for the daily expense of sacred offerings and *namaskāram* (*to be prepared out of*) four *nāḷi* of good rice, (*as measured*) by the temple measure, to the god Dakshiṇasvarṇamukai-Bhaṭārar, the *rakshābōga* (i. e. *the owner's share*),- *viz.* (*one*) hundred and twenty *paṟai* of good paddy derived every year from all kinds of lands (*that were*) under his protection, together with twelve *paṟai* of paddy every year for (*supplying*), twice daily, vegetables, two *kaḻañju* of tamarind, salt, pepper and leaves, (*which were*) required for the *namaskāram* and offering,— (*altogether making*) a total of (*one*) hundred and thirty-two *paṟai* of paddy, realised in the two crops, inclusive of *puṟakkūli*.

No. 5— Mitranandapuram Inscription of Kollam 660.

This inscription, which is engraved in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet on the south wall of the central shrine of the Vishṇu temple at Mitrānandapuram, at the left of entrance, refers to the repairs executed in the temple, the consecration of the image and of covering the pinnacle with copper. All these are stated to have been done in Kollam 660 (=A. D. 1485) by the disciple of Yādavēndrānubhūti-Bhaṭārar and certian others. Among the places mentioned in the inscription, Kuḻikkōḍu may be identified with a village of that name in the Kalkuḷam Taluk; and Kaṇḍiyūr is in Māvallikkarai. The name Piḷadiśuvaran seems to be a dialectic corruption of Bṛihadīśvaran.

Text.

1. வெ॥[ஹ] [॥*][1] கொல்லம் ௬௱௬௰-தாமாண்டு விரிச்சிக வியாழம் மீன ஞாயிற்றில [கண்டியூர்] ஸ்ரீயா॥தவெந்தி-
2. ரானுபூதிப்படாரார் திருவடி இருந்நருளியெடத்தின் ஶிஷ்யன் குழிக் [கோ]காட்டு நாகச்சுவாமிதெவரும் ஒழிஞ்ஞநம்பி ப-
3. வித்திரங்காழி பிழ[தி]சுவரனும் கணக்கு நாராயணனிராகவனும் கூட திருப்பணி செய்யிச்சு கலச-
4. மாட்டிச்சிது செம்பு[2] மேயிச்சு

Translation.

Hail! In the month of Mīnam of the Kollam year 660 (when) Jupiter (*was in*) Vṛiśchika, and in the presence of Śrī-Yādavēndrānubhūti-Bhaṭārar-Tiruvaḍi of Kaṇḍiyūr, his disciple Nāgasvāmidēva of Kuḻikkōḍ, Oḻiññanambi Pavitraṉkāḻi Piḷadiśuvaraṉ, the accountant Nārāyaṇaṉ Rāghavaṉ, together made repairs and bathed (*the image*) with pots of water (*i. e. consecrated it*) and (*had the pinnacle*) covered with copper.

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1. Read வ வி / வ தீ
2. There is some vacant space between this word and the previous one.

No. 6.— Mitranandapuram Inscription of Manikantha Ramavarman.

This inscription is engraved in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters on the south outer face of the yāḷi-stone, to the left of the steps, at the entrance into the Vishṇu shrine of Mitrānandapuram. It is a record of the Vēṇāḍu king Maṇikaṇṭha Rāmavarman and is dated in the first day of Kumbham of the year in which Jupiter was in Karkaṭaka-rāśi *i. e.* in the zenith of its power. That the king mentioned in this epigraph is none other than Vīra-Rāmavarman of the Veḷḷāyaṇi inscription is proved beyond all doubt by the fact that Gōvindaṉ Kumaraṉ of Paṭṭāḷi, Vikkiraman Parannavaṉ of Puṉalūr and Kaṇḍaṉ Udaiyaṉaṉ of Kaitaivāy figure in both the records, the first two as witnesses and the last as the writer of the document. The full name of the king may have been Vīramaṇikaṇṭha Rāmavarman. The palaeography of the records does not militate against this identification. For that same reason, the inscription must be assigned to Kollam 371 when Jupiter was in Karkaṭaka. And since by calculation it has been found that 24th Mēḍam of that year fell in 16th April A. D. 1196, the day of execution of the subjoined deed may be 23rd or 24th January 1196. It will be pointed out later on that the inscription in the Gōśāla Kṛishṇa shrine at Trivandrum, which registers a gift by Ādityarāman of Marudamaṉ, is dated in the month of Dhanus of the same year, and that Kaṇḍaṉ Udaiyaṉaṉ figures as the writer of that deed also. There should thus have intervened only a month i. e. Makaram, and perhaps a few days in Dhanus, between that record and the subjoined one. At the time when the Gōśāla record was incised, the reigning king of Vēṇāḍu was Kōdai Mārtāṇḍavarman. It is thus clear that Maṇikaṇṭha-Rāmavarman, also called Vīra-Rāmavarman, and whose full name should be Vīra-Maṇikaṇṭha-Rāmavarman, should have succeeded Mārtāṇḍavarman on the throne of Vēṇāḍu in December 1195 or January 1196 A. D.

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] கர்கடகவ்-
2. வியா[ழ]த்தில்க் கும்-
3. பஞாயிறு க சென்ற நாள் மி-
4. த்திரானந்தபுரத்து தெக்கி-
5. ன் சுற்றுமண்டபத்தில் ஸர்வ-
6. வ்ஜ்ஞாநபடாரர் திருவடி இரு-
7. ந்நருளியெடத்து மித்திரானந்த-
8. புரத்து பட்டாரகர் நியதி இரட்-
9. டையால் நாழுழி செய்தரி திருவ-
10. [மி]ர்து செய்தருளுவான் வெணாட்ட[டி]-
11. கள் மணிகண்ட ராமவர்[ம்]ம[ர்] அம-
12. ச்ச பூமி [॥*] மருதத்தூர் வெள்ளறை வி-
13. [ரு]த்தியில் அஞ்சொன்று மெலொ[டி] [2]

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1. ர் looks like ரு in the original. There seems to have been some corrections made in this line.
2. டி is corrected from டு.

14. [பெரு]ந் நெல்லும் கொடுகாமண்ணு-
15. [ம் பெ]ருமண்ணும் விலெநிலத்தொடி-
16. ய பு[ரையிட]ங்ஙள் முன்றின்னும் மெ-
17. ல்பாதி திருவத்தி[ய]னு கொள்ளுந் நெல் நால்க்கலமும் செ . . [1]
18. ழுந்தி நென்மலிமங்ங[ல]த்து பூமி[மெல்] கொள்ளும் பாட்ட
19. நெல் முப்பது பறயும்[2] கூடக்கைக்கொண்டு செலவு முட்டா[தெ] வைப்-
20. பிச்[சு] திருப்பரிகலமு மெடுத்துகொண்டு தக்ஷிணமெரு........
21. ...ஞ்ஞலத்தியுமிடுவது மித்திரானந்தபுரத்து வைஷ்ணவன்
22. ராகவநாராயணன் தந்ததி ஸ்ரவெசமெ ஆசந்த்ரதாரவல்[||*]இது
23. ஓராண்டு முட்டுகில் முட்டிரட்டி[||*]இரண்டாண்டு முட்டுகில் முட்டிரட்-
24. டி[யு]ந் தண்டமும்[||*]மூவாண்டு முட்டுகில் இப்-
25. பூமியும் புரயிடமும் ஸ்ரீகாரியஞ் செய்புமவ[ர]-
26. [ள் கையில்] இக்காராண்கூறு [வெடி] ராகவ நாராயணன்
27. அதிகரிச்சு செலவு செலுத்துவிது[||*]பட்டாழிக்-
28. கொவிந்தங் குமரனும் அறியும்[||*]புனலூரி வி-
29. க்கிரமன் பரநநவனும் அறியும்[||*]இது கைதவாய்-
30. க்கண்டன உத-
31. யனன் எழுத்து.[||*]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! On the 1st day, expired, of the month of Kumbha, when Jupiter was in Karkaṭaka, Brahmaprajña-Bhaṭārar-Tiruvaḍi being pleased to remain in the southern enclosure of (*the temple of*) Mitrānandapuram, the Vēṇāḍu king Maṇikaṇṭha Rāmavarman gave the (*following*) lands in order that sacred offerings with four *nāḻi* of good rice (as measured) by the temple measure may be made twice daily, to the god at Mitrānandapuram. Having received on hand the income in paddy, of one in five, arising from (*the land*) Veḷḷaraivirutti in Marudattūr together with half the income from Koḍugāmaṉ, Perumaṉ and the three gardens attached to the Vilenilam as well as the four *kalam* of paddy set apart for the recitation of the sacred Vēdas (*tiruvadyayana*), and the thirty *paṟai* of paddy which is the *pāṭṭam* to be obtained on the lands in Šempaḻundi-Neṉmali-maṅgalam, the *Vaishṇava* Rāgava-Nārāyaṇan of Mitrānandapuram and his descendants shall, as long as the moon and the stars (*endure*), see that the expences (*of the temple*) are met without any default, the sacred vessels are provided........ ....Dakshiṇamēru...............If this (*arrangement*) failed in (*any*) one year, double the default (*should be paid*); if it failed in two years, double the default and fine (*should be paid*): and if it failed in three years, the said Rāghava-Nārāyaṇaṉ, who was appointed to look after the cultivation, should pay an excess amount into the hands of the persons who manage the business of the said temple lands and gardens. Gōvindaṉ Kumaraṉ of Paṭṭāḻi knows this. Vikkiramaṉ Parannavaṉ of Punalūr knows this. This is the signature of Kaṇḍaṉ Udaiyaṉaṉ of Kaitavāy.

1 The last two letters may be மப.

2 Read பறையும்.

No. 7.—On the yali-stone in the Vishnu shrine.

This inscription, which is engraved in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet of the 9th or 10th century A. D., on the yāḷi-stone at the entrance into the Vishṇu temple at Mitrānandapuram, registers a gift made to the god, for offerings, by a merchant of Tirukkōḷūr in Tiruvaḷudi-vaḷnāḍu, named Pugaḻi Śelvaṉ *alias* Tiruvālavāyil Danma-Śeṭṭi. The land Perunīr, whose income was granted to the temple, and the village Iḍamalai in which it was situated, figure in the Mitrānandapuram copper-plates, edited above. Tirukkōḷūr in Tiruvaḷudi-vaḷanāḍu, of which the donor was the native, is perhaps identical with Tirukkaḷūr in the Tiruchchendur Taluk of the Tinnevelly district. It is reputed, in Vaishṇava traditions, as the birth place of Madhurakavi-Āḻvār; and it is worth noting that one of the remote ancestors of Nammāḻvār was, according to the same tradition, called Tiruvaḷudi-vaḷanāḍar after the division in which Tirukkōḷūr was situated. Āḻwār-Tirunagari, the birth place of Nammāḻvār, may also be said to be situated in the same ancient territorial division.

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஶ்ரீ[।*] திருவழுதிவளநாட்டுத் திருக்கொளூர் வியாபாரி புகழி செ ல்வன்னை திருவாலவாயி-
2. ல் தன்மசெட்டி மித்திரானந்தபுரத்துப்[1] பெருமாளுக்கு நாளமிர்துக்கு தி ருமடைப்பள்ளி-
3. யால்[2] இருநாழிச் செய்து அரி செல்வது இடைமலைப் பெருநிராகின்ற பூமி . . . . .[3] மெல்ப்பா-
4. தியால்
5. பெருநிராகின்ற நிலத்தின் மெல்ப்பாதி

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! Pugaḻi Śelvaṉ *alias* Tiruvālavāyil Daṉma-Śeṭṭi, a merchant of Tirukkōḷūr, (*assigned*), from the income of Perunīr in Iḍamalai, two *nāḻi* of good rice (*as measured*) by the temple measure,[4] for the daily offerings of the god (*Perumāḷ*) at Mitrānandapuram. The income of the land called Perunīr.[5]

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1 ர in புரத்து is engraved below the line.

2 In other inscriptions மடையால் is substituted for திருமடைப்பள்ளியால்.

3 Five letters appear to have been written here and erased.

4 On the meaning of மடை see Gundert.

5 This repetition is only to indicate how the last line stands after erasure.

No. 8.—An odd plate of Tiruvalla.

Among the impressions of the Huzur plates of *Tiruvalla*, taken by the late Mr. Gopinatha Rao and kept in the office, the following estampage was also found. As the inscription contained in it has not been noticed in the paper on the "HUZUR PLATE OF THE VISHNU TEMPLE AT TIRUVALLA", it is edited here separately. As will be seen from the sequel, it is an important record.

This inscription seems to have been engraved on the plate after erasing an earlier record. The forms of the Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters of this inscription show that it is a much later one than the Tiruvalla series. But as the plate is of the same size as the former and as it is found among the Tiruvalla impressions, it is likely that it formed part of that set, perhaps as a fly leaf attached to it.

The language of the inscription may be called the Western dialect of Tamiḻ, much allied to the modern Malayāḷam. The following forms of words occurring in it are worthy of note in this connection:—

śeyyichcha, āvidu, oḷḷa, kaññi, uḍukkumadu, iḻividu, iruppidu, oḻividu, ūṭṭumadu, irunnu, veṟṟilai-tinnividu, irākkil, avaral, nāṉāḻichchai, and *ari.*

As already remarked, '*Paḷārar*' stands for '*Bhaṭārar*' and '*Tiruvaḍi*' is a term applied to *sannyāsins*, gods and kings.

The interchange of *śa* and *ta* and *vice versa* is quite common to Vaṭṭeḻuttu epigraphs. *Chcha* or *chchai* is an authorised change of *ksha*; cf. *pichchai* for *bhikshā*. For a similar change of *kshi* into *ikki*, we might cite *tāḻkki* which stands for *śākshi*. *Māḍai* is an altered form of *maḍai* which stands for cooked rice. *Avaraḷ* stands for *avargaḷ*.

The object of the inscription is to regulate the conduct of priests performing worship in temples. Evidently, the record aims at reforming certain bad practices prevalent among that class of servants, such as wearing grualled cloth: not having *pavitras*; feeding persons who had not been following the ancient routine or custom; not offering to the deity rice with ghee, flower and sandal-paste: and chewing beatel-leaves in the presense of the Bhaṭārar-Tiruvaḍi, by which term may be meant either the god or the *sanyāsin Niraññapādā-Bhaṭārar*.

Kāṇam, which occurs in line 6, is a gold coin that had been in use in early times. We find it so employed in 'Padiṟṟuppattu'[1] and other ancient Tamiḻ works as well as in early inscriptions.[2]

Of etymological interest is the word *kīḻiyakkam*, which occurs in lines 2 and 3 of this inscription. The term is not in current use. Neither is it to be found in Tamiḻ or Malayāḷam lexicons. Search for it in some of the ancient Tamiḻ works has proved vain. It is one of those obselete words employed in inscriptions whose meaning remains yet to be made out. The word appears to be a compound of *kīḻ* and *iyakkam*. *Iyakkam* is the verbal noun derived from *iyaṅgu* or *iyakku*. *Naḍai* or *āchāram* of other inscriptions will be proper equivalents of it. The prefix *kīḻ*

1 *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, p. 378f.

2 P. 23. of the Travancore Archæological Series Vol. II

seems to be used in the sense of 'past' and as such the compound *kīḻiyakkam* should be taken to mean 'the ancient practice'. *Pūrvāchāram* may be regarded as its synonym. It is interesting to note that, besides indicating the course of action of persons as in our record, the word was also used to denote the customary dues or incomes accruing from lands.

The following passage taken from an unpublished epigraph,[1] will show this use of the word *kīḻiyakkam*. It will be particularly noted that the inscription expressly includes under *kīḻiyakkam* certain specified and unspecified dues such as *oṭṭidaṟkaḍamai*, *uvvi*, *vēy-nel*, etc which, we may observe, were customarily paid by cultivators:—

அதிகாரர்க்கு ஒள்ள தென்னுட்டில் * * * முத்தலைக்குறிச்சி ஸ்ரீவிரகொள ஈச்சுவரத்து மாதெவர்க்குச் செலவின்னும் திருநந்தாவிளக்கின்னும் எழுதி விட்டுக் கொடுத்தார் அமைந்த அதிகாரர்[।।*] இத்தெசத்து கிழியக்கம் ஒட்டிதற்கடமையும் உவ்வியும் வெய்நெல்லும் அழகெருதும் * * கூட விட்டுக் கொடுத்தார் அமைந்த அதிகாரர்[।।*] இவ்வண்ணமே இத்தேசத்து திருவிதான்கோட்டு மாதெவர்க்கும் பரக்கொட்டு தெவர்க்கும் பகவதிக்கும் கிழியக்கம் ஒள்ளது நீங்கலாக ஒள்ள ஒட்டிதற் கடமையும் * * * ஆசந்திரதாரவல் வீரகௌள ஈச்சுவரத்து மாதெவர்க்கு செலவின்னும் * * * அறியும் தாழ்க்கி புலவர்மண் சாத்தன் மணியன்

TEXT.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ[।*] நிரஞ்ஞாபாதாபழார[ர்*] திருவடி செய்யிச்ச சிரிகாரியமாவிது[।।*] அகத்தொள்ள யெம்பெரு-
2. மக்கள் செய்பு[ம்*] கிழியக்கமாவிது[।।*] கஞ்ஞிப்புடவை என்று உடுக்குமது இழிவிது[2][।*] பவி-
3. த்திர[ம்*] இட்டிருப்பிது[।*] கிழியக்கமில்லாதவர்களை மடத்திலிருந்து ஊட்டுமது
4. ஒழிவிது[।*] அகத்து நெய் மாடைய் பூவாகிலு[ம்*] சந்தனமாகிலு[ம்*] வச்சிருந்து ஆ[ரா]தி-
5. ரா தொழிவிது[3][।।*] பழார[ர்*] திருவடி முன்பு வெற்றிலை தின்னுவது ஒழிவிது[।।*] இ[வ்*]வண்ண[ம்] இரா-
6. க்கில் மெல்சாந்தி எம்பெருமக்கள் இருபத்துநாலு காணம் பொன்(ந்)[4] தண்ட[ம்*][।।*] மற்றுள்ளவரள்
7. இருபத்து நாணழிச்சை அரி தண்ட[ம்][5] [।।*]

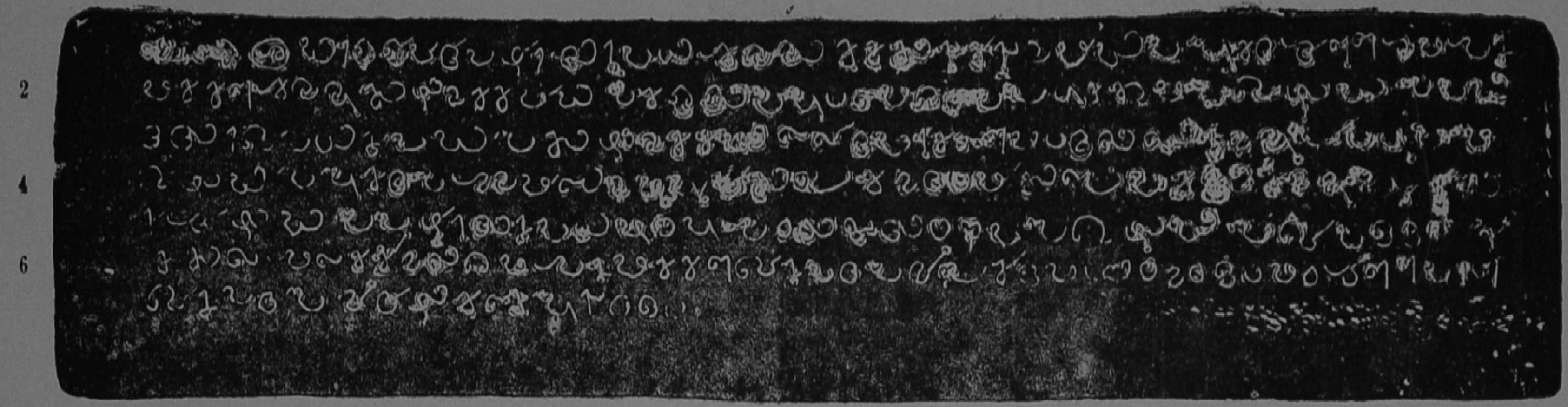
1 This record is dated in Kollam 491. Prof. Sundaram Pillai has translated it in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIV. p. 334 f.

2 This word may have to be corrected into ஒழிவிது as in lines 4 and 5. If not so corrected, it must be translated as "dropped".

3 Read ஆராதிபாதொழிவது.

4 Delete the last ந்.

5 ம் is engraved like an *anusvāra*.



K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer.

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! This sacred arrangement was made by Nirañňapādā-Bhaṭārar-Tiruvaḍi. The following practices (*shall be adopted*) by the greatmen of (*i. e. attached to*) the inner (*shrine*). The wearing of cloths (*under the pretext that they are dipped in*) gruel must cease. *Pavitram* shall be worn. In the *maṭha*, the feeding of persons, who do not follow the ancient practice, must cease. In the inner (*shrine*), worship shall not be made without the offering of boiled rice with ghee, flower and sandal-paste. The chewing of betel-leaves in the presence of the Bhaṭārar-Tiruvaḍi shall stop. If the greatmen of the *mēlśānti* (*i. e. those who conduct worship in temples*) do not observe these (rules), they (*shall be liable to*) a fine of twenty-four *kāṇam* of gold; and the other persons, who do not follow the same, shall be liable to pay a fine of twenty-four *nāḻi* of good rice.

No. 9.—Vellani Inscription of Vira-Ramavarman: Kollam 371.

On the south bank of the back-water (kāyal) near the village of Veḷḷāyaṇi, (sometimes pronounced as Veḷḷāṇi,) in the Neyyāttinkarai Taluk, is an old Vishṇu temple, quite neglected and fast going to decay. It faces the west and bears an inscription on the base of the south wall of its *maṇḍapa*. I secured an inked estampage of it, and it is reproduced as plate facing page 6. The temple is called at present Tirukuḷaṅgarai, which is evidently a corruption of Tirukuṇakarai, the name given to it in the inscription. As in most other cases, the walls of the central shrine of this temple are built of what is popularly known as *maṇṇaikkal*, a kind of gravel-like stone. The god in this temple is in standing posture, has four hands, the back two of which hold the conch and the discus. While the left front hand rests freely on a *gada*—a feature seldom observed in the case of Vishṇu enshrined in temples—the corresponding right hand shows the *varada-mudra* pose.

The inscription is in a tolerably good state of preservation and is engraved in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet and in the Tamiḻ language (western dialect). Along with the Tamiḻ grammatical forms *vāḻndaruḷukiṉṟa adikāraruḍaiya*, *paṭṭārakarkku*, *etc.*, the following peculiarities also occur:—*āvidu* for *āvadu*; *varuvidu* for *varuvadu*; *āḻvāṉṉu*, *viḷakkiṉṉu* and *śelaviṉṉu* for *āḻvāṉukku*, *viḷakkiṉukku* and *śelavukku*; *śeyyiṉṟavaral* for *śeykiṉṟavarkaḷ*; *kalppichchu*, *adikarichchu* and *śeyichchu* for *kalppittu*, *adikarittu* and *śeyvittu*; *oḷḷa* for *uḷḷa*; *muṭṭukil* for *muṭṭiṉāl*; *tuḍai* for *taḍavai*; *arāḻchcha* for *arāyehchi*; *tāḻkki* for *sākshi*;[1] and *Parannavaṉ* for *Parantapan*. *Neyyeṉṉai* is used in the sense of liquid ghee.

The inscription is dated in the reign of the Vēṇāḍu king Vīra-Rāmavarman and in the Kollam year 371 (=A. D. 1196), the month Mēsha, and the 24th solar day, expired. M. R. Ry. Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai, to whom I submitted the date for verification, notes:—

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1 On the changes assumed by this word see No. 33, below.

"= Tuesday, 16th April A. D. 1196 when Jupiter was in Karkaṭaka: for want of week-day, however, we cannot be certain whether the day intended is Tuesday 16th April or Wednesday 17th April: in other words whether the suffix "expired" is expletive or significant".

The inscription registers a gift made by the officers of the king, to the Vishṇu temple called Tirukkuṇakarai *alias* Yādavanārāyaṇa-Viṇṇagar-Āḻvār at Śeṅkōṭṭāṟu-Chērikkal, for the expenses of offering daily four *nāḻi* of rice and for burning a sacred lamp. Reference is incidentally made to a temple at Poḻiyūr, a body of six hundred men of Vēṇāḍu and to the *Vaḷañjiyar* of the eighteen districts, who are required to manage the gift, in case the person entrusted with the property made default for the third time. It is interesting to note that the record is careful to mention even the insignificant item of thread to be supplied for the wick of the lamp. The quantity of paddy to be given is stated to be exclusive of *puṟakkūli* by which term is perhaps meant the incidental charges to be incurred in taking the paddy to the court-yard of the temple where it has to be measured and handed over to the temple authorities. Other inscriptions definitely mention that such charges as the carriage hire, tolls and ferry dues, required for transporting the paddy from the thrashing ground to the temple court-yard, where it has to be measured out free, from chaff, dust and unripe grains, must be borne by the person in charge of the land, i. e. the cultivator, and that the stipulated quantity of paddy should be given in heaped measures. The Tiruvaṭṭāṟu inscription of Vīra-Udaiya-Mārtāṇḍavarman[1] refers to such a custom which obtained in early days, in these words:—"*poliyāl Kōdainallūr kīḻachchēri-ttirukkōyilkkal koṇḍuvandu uṇaṅṅi umi-pōkku pūvaḻi, etc*". It means that at each harvest the interest paddy should be brought to the precincts of the Kīḻachchēri temple at Kōdainallūr, dried and measured without any husk.

Of the places mentioned in the inscription, Paṭṭāḻi and Puṉalūr are villages in the Pattanapuram Taluk. Poḻiyūr, whose temple is mentioned in our inscription, seems to have been a place of importance in early times. Its identity with Poḻiśūḻ-nāḍu, which figures in the Huzur plates of Karunandaḍakkaṉ, is, however, open to question. That Poḻiyūr is not the modern form of Poḻiśūḻ is evident from the fact that the former name occurs in early records. A Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscription of about the tenth century A. D., belonging to the time of the early Pāṇḍya king Vīra-Pāṇḍya, engraved on the rock near the Kailāsa shrine at Suchīndram, mentions both Poḻiyūr and Poḻiyūr-nāḍu, thus setting at rest any doubt that might arise as regards the early form of it. And in this connection we may state that there is a village called Chūḻanāḍu in the Neyyāttinkara Taluk, in Ottaśēkharamaṅgalam Pukuthy, which might be regarded as a remnant of Poḻiśūḻ-nāḍu. From the Suchīndram inscription referred to here we learn further that

1 In the published reading of this inscription (above, p. 296) I would fill up the first gap in *l.* 1 by "மச-செ"; read இளங்கூறு instead of இளங்குடை; குழுமை in place of கு . மை; replace செயகடைக்குட்டப்பெறையும் .... மாத்தறையும் . . . by செயகழுக்கூட்டிப்பெறை நூடம் தடிகம்-யும் மாத்தறை நூடம் தடி and instead of "உணங்கி உச . . க்கு [கு] வழி; have உணங்கி உமிபோக்கு பூவழி."

Poḻiyūr was the native place of the chief Śērāntaka Pallavaraiyaṉ *alias* Māṟaṉ-Āchchaṉ who made a gift of money for burning a lamp in the central shrine of the Tiruchchivīndirattu-Bhaṭāra. Śeṅkōḍu is the name of that part of Vaḷḷāyaṉi which is not far away from the Vishṇu temple: and it is not unlikely that the exact site, where the temple is located, formed in ancient times a suburb (*chēri*) of Śenkōḍu.

From the subjoined inscription it is not possible to say who the Vaḷañjiyas were that were entrusted with the care of the charitable endowment registered in it. But from allied records[1] of the Tamiḻ and Kanarese districts, we learn that these Vaḷañjiyas were members of merchant guilds and belonged to eighteen countries, which, however, are not specifically named; that they were sometimes required to supervise, maintain or protect gifts made to temples and other charitable institutions; and that they had influence and authority over large areas, probably on account of the wealth they possessed and owing to their trade relations. It is worthy of note that the inscriptions which refer to them are written in mixed characters consisting of Tamiḻ, Grantha, Malayāḷam and Vaṭṭeḻuttu letters, and the language employed is the Western dialect of Tamiḻ, with such peculiarities of forms as are mostly to be seen in the inscriptions of the west coast. Among the communities, that figure in these inscriptions along with the Vaḷañjiyas, may be mentioned a class of people called "*the arm-bearing Thousands*" who are again comparable with the army of the right-hand *Vēḷaikkāras* occuring in the inscriptions of the Chōḷa kings Rājarāja and Rājēndra-Chōḷa[2].

The phrase "வேணுட்டறுநூற்றுவரும்" which occurs in lines 2 and 7, is similar to "நன்றுழைநாடுவாழுமவர் முந்நூற்றுவரும்[3]", "அறுநூற்றுவரும்" "அஞ்சுவண்ணமும் மணிக்கிராமமும்[4]" "திருவெள்ளறை மூவாயிரத்தெழுநூற்றுவரும்[5]" "தில்லை மூவாயிரவர்" "நாற்பத்தெண்ணுயிரவர்" *etc.* In all these cases, the numbers cannot be taken to prove the existence of political assemblies consisting of as many members[6]. It has been shown elsewhere that the figures must refer to the number of persons who originally colonised the particular tracts with whose names they are mentioned: and that every descendant of theirs was entitled to being called one of the clan or body.[7]

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ[8] [॥*] கர்க்கடகத்தில் வியாழந் நின்ற யாண்டு கொல்லம் ௲ாஎ௰க-மாண்டை மெடஞாயிறு உ௰சு சென்ற நாள்ச் செய்த காரியமாவிது[॥*]

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1 Mr. Rice's *Coorg Inscriptions*, p. 19 and foot-note 2.

2 *Ibid*, pp. 19-20 and *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. (10).

3 *Travancore Archæological Series*, Vol. II. p. 23.

4 *Ibid*, pp. 80 and 81.

5 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 158 and note.

6 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIV. p. 284. and Mr. Nagamayya's *Travancore State Manual*, Vol. I. p. 255. It is beyond comprehension that villages, however big they might have been, could ever have had such unwieldy assemblies as 3700, 3000 and 48,000.

7 An accountant of Māmallapuram in the 10th century A. D. called himself 'one of the 3700 of Tiruveḷḷaṟai.'

8 The syllables ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ are entered on the left margin of the inscription.

வேணாடு வாழ்ந்தருளுகி[ன்]ற ஸ்ரீ வீரராமவர்ம்ம திருவடிக்கமஞ்ச
அதிகாரருடைய செங்கோட்டாறு

2. சேரிக்கல் திருக்கு[ணக]ரை [ஆயி]ன யாதவநாராயண விண்ணகர் ஆழ்
வான்னு செலவுந் திருநந்தாவிளக்கின்னும் எழுதி நீரோடுமட்டிக்கொ
டுத்தார் அதிகாரர்[॥*] இக்காலம் முதலாய் இச்சேரிக்கல் வேணாட்ட
அறுநூற்றுவரும் [ப]ணி-

3. செய்யின்றவரளுங் காரியஞ் செய்யின்றவரளும் மனுழ்ச்சமாய்த் திருக்கு
ணகரைச் செலவு செலுத்துமவன் பொழி[யூ]ர்ப் பட்டாரகர்க்கு செல
வின்னு முன்னம் அதிகாரர் கல்ப்பிச்சு விட்டு கொடுத்த நிலந் நிக்கி ஒ
ள்ளதேப்[பெ]ர்ப்-

4. பட்டதும் கூட அதிகரிச்[சு] கொண்டு நியதம் மடையால் நாழிச்செய்
தரி திருவமிர்துஞ் செய்யிச்சு ஒரோ திருநந்தாவிளக்குஞ் செலுத்திவ
ருவிது[॥*] நியதம் அமிர்து செய்யும் அரிமடை நாழிக்கும் புறைக்
கூலி நி[க்கி] ஆ-

5. ண்டுவர வேண்டுந் நெல் [1]க்காலால் இருபத்து நால்க்கலமுந் திருநந்தாவி
ளக்கு ஒன்றினு வேண்டுந் நெய்யெண்ணயுந் திரிநூலும் முட்டாதெ
செலுத்திவருவிது[॥*] செங்கோட்டாற்று மெலுங் கிழுமோள்ள நி
லத்தில் உருப்பூமியும் காரா[ண்] நில-

6. த்தில்க் கொள்ளும் மெல்பாதி[யு]ங் காடுங் கரைப்புரயிடமும் ஆளும் மி
க்கு எப்பேர்ப்பட்டிதுங் கூட அதிகரிச்சு கொண்டு செலவும் முட்டா
தெ செலுத்துவிது[॥*] இது ஒருதுடை முட்டுகில் முட்டிரட்டி[।*] இ
ரண்டு துடை முட்டுகில் முட்டிரட்டியுந் [த]ண்ட-

7. மும்[।*] மூன்று துடை முட்டுகில் அ[று நூ]ற்றுவரும் பணி செய்யின்றவ
[ர]ளும் பதினெட்டிராஜ்யத்தில் [வ]ளஞ்சியரும் ஆராழ்ச்சபண்ணி ஆ
சந்த்ரதாரவல் முட்டாதெ செலுத்துவிது[॥*] இச்சேரிக்கல் நாலெல்ல
அகப்படத் தோரணமுந் நாட்டித் திருவிடையாட்டமாகச் செல்லு
மாறு

8. கல்ப்பிச்செடத் தறியுந் தாழ்க்கி கொக்கொப்பறப்பில் கண்டன் கண்ட
னும் அறியும் தானமண்கோட்டத்து கொளஞ் சுவரனும் அறியும் புன
லூரி விக்கிரமன் பரநவனும் அறியும் பட்டாழிக் கோவிந்தங் குமரனும்
அறியும் இப்படிக் கிவை கைதைவாய்க் க[ண்]டன்

9. உத[ய]னன் எழுத்து [॥*]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! The following is the business transacted on the 24th (solar) day, expired, of the month of Mēsha in the Kollam year 371, the year in which Jupiter stood in Karkaṭaka:—

The officers (*adikārar*) wrote (*i. e. executed the document*) and gave with libation of water, for the expenses of, and a sacred lamp to (*the temple of*) Tirukkuṇakarai *alias* Yādavanārāyaṇa-Viṇṇagar-Āḷvār at Chērikkal in Šenkōṭṭāṟu (*which belonged to*) the officers of the glorious Vīra-Rāmavarma-Tiruvaḍi, who is pleased to rule the country of Vēṇāḍu. From this time forward, the six-hundred of

1 There is a symbol before க்காலால் which may be taken for மரக்கால்.

Vēṇāḍu, those who execute works or repairs, and those who manage (*the temple*) business, shall, as representatives (*maṇulchcham*), see that the person (*entrusted with the duty of*) defraying the expenses of (*the temple of*) Tirukkuṇakarai, does bring under his management all kinds of lands,—exclusive of (*those*) lands which had been orderd and assigned previously by the officers for the expenses of (*the temple of*) Poḷiyūr-Bhaṭārar,— gets offerings prepared daily with four *nāḷi* of good rice and (*burns*) one sacred lamp. Without (making any) default, he shall supply, exclusive of *puṟakkūli*, twenty-four *kalam* of paddy (*as measured*) by the measure holding ten *nāḷi*, that being the requirement for the whole year for offering daily four *nāḷi* of rice; and (*he shall also give*) liquid ghee and thread for wick, which are required for (*burning*) one sacred lamp. Taking into his possession the *uṟā*-lands situated to the west and east of Śenkōṭṭāṟu, the western part of the *kārāḷa* lands together with the forests and *karaippuṟaiyiḍam*, and the servants (*attached thereto*) etc., he shall meet the expenses without (*making*) any default. If this (*arrangement*) suffers default once, double (*the quantity at*) default (*shall be paid*). If default is made for a second time, in addition to double the defaulted quantity, a fine also (*shall be paid*). And if default is made for the third time, the six-hundred, those who execute works or repairs, and the Vaḷañjiyar of the eighteen countries shall enquire[1] (*into the matter*) and meet the expenses (themselves), without default, as long as the moon and the stars (endure).

The witnesses who knew (*the transaction*) at the time when it was ordered to be given as a *tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam* (*i. e. in favour of the temple*), with this Chērikkal decorated with arch-ways within (its) four boundaries, are:—

Kaṇḍaṉ Kaṇḍaṉ of Kōkkōpparappu knows (this);

Kēraḷan Śuvaraṉ of Tāṇamaṉkōḍu knows (this);

Vikkiramaṉ Parannavaṉ of Puṉalūr knows (this);

Govindaṉ Kumaraṉ of Paṭṭāḷi knows (this);

Thus was (*this*) written by Kaṇḍaṉ Udayanaṉ of Kaidavāy.

No. 10.— On the east wall of the Brahma Shrine at Tiruvallam.

The village of Tiruvallam is situated at the confluence of the two rivers Kiḷḷiyār and Karamanai, and is about four miles to the south of Trivandrum. It forms one of the Pakuthies of the Neyyāttinkarai Taluk of the Trivandrum division, and is famous for its temple. A spacious compound, enclosed on all sides by two *prākāra* walls of stone, is appropriated for this temple. The shrines found within the inner *prākāra* are those of Paraśurāma, Brahma, Śiva and Matsya. Of these, the first three are in a row on the south side, from west to east. The shrine of Paraśurāma, which faces the north, is built entirely of granite stone from the foundation to the ceiling, with a *vimāna* of less hard material. It is provided with a pinnacle at its top. The shrine is round and has a rectangular *maṇḍapa* in front. There is not much of sculpture or ornamentation. A row of Bhūtagaṇas or goblins, another of animals— elephants, lion and the like— and a third

1. *Āṟālchai* means 'enquiry'. Since these persons are required to defray the expenses, it may be presumed that the lands were left under their management.

panel of miniature floral works, with bearded faces of men carved in the convolutions, adorn the building at its top. The first two run all round the shrine and the *maṇḍapa*, while the last forms the top belt of the rectangular *maṇḍapa* alone. Though there are no inscriptions on this shrine, yet judging only from its architecture, it can be assigned to the 13th century A. D. The niches on the east, south and west walls, one on each side, accommodate minor deities. The image of Paraśurāma is shaped in the *ardhachitra* fashion. It has four hands in two of which the conch and discus are held; the weapons *paraśu* and *hala*, which the deity is said to have, are hardly distinguishable. One the other hand, the weapon in the front right hand looks like a *gadā*. The shrine of Brahmā, also facing the north, is built of dressed granite as far as the superstructure which is of brittle laterite stone. It is rectangular in shape without any pretentions to either sculpture or ornamentation. The image of Brahmā has four heads and four hands. It is seated in the Padmāsana posture; and on the pedestal, the petals of lotus are worked. *Kamaṇḍalu i. e.* a vessel with a spout, and an open lotus flower are seen in two of the hands, while the other two are in the *yōgamudra* pose. At the base of the west wall are two inscriptions in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet and they are edited below. There is another epigraph on the base of the east wall in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters and its contents are noticed in Volume I, pp. 295 ff. In the publishd edition we have, however, to correct some mistakes. First of all, it has to be noted that the position of the inscription is not the north wall but the base of the east wall. In the reading of the text given on page 296, we have to fill up the gap in line 1 with the letters ம சென்ற; correct மடத்து சக்கி in line 3 into மாடத்து சாக்கி; read திருவழு for திருவமி in line 5; fill up the first gap in line 6 with மடை டு; alter நக்ஷராபம் into நக்ஷராம் and in place of the second gap insert ரு; replace the first few dots in line 7 by மடை நட-ழி, and the second set of dots by நெல் க-ம். The gap in line 8 has to be replaced by மடை உமி-ழி; and those in line 9 by நெல் க-ழி. In the abstract of contents, "Sōmavāra", which is given as the rendering of திங்கள் தோறும் must be corrected into 'every month'; and substitute 'rāśi' for 'constellation'; alter "Śakki Tiruvandi of the *maṭha*" into "Śākki Tiruvāṇḍi of Māḍam' and change "gave some paddy' into "ordered the incurring of certain expenses". The words 'Hail ! Prosperity !' must be added at the commencement.

A revised text and translation are given on page 39, below.

As regards the Śiva temple, it may be noted that the outer *prākāra* wall is circular in shape, while the inner shrine, which contains the *liṅga*, is rectangular. Some space is left between the outer and inner walls to admit of *pradakshiṇam* or circumambulation. Each of the sides of this inner shrine is provided with two pillars. The basemeut of the *prākāra* wall is made of stone but the superstructure and the entire shrine are of laterite. There are small wooden windows shaped in the form of the coils of a snake. There are no inscriptions. The shrine is covered over by a thatched roof made in the form of a spread out umbrella.

In front of the principal shrine of Paraśurāma, but separated from it, there is a spacious *namaskāra-maṇḍapa*. To the east of this is a kitchen with a stone well; and behind them is the shrine of Matsya-mūrtti. There are no inscriptions in any of these buildings.

Outside of the inner *prākāra* walls, there are two *dhvajastambhas*, one set up in front of the Śiva shrine and the other just opposit to the shrine of Parśurāma.

The shrine of Gaṇapati is located to the east of the second *dvajastambha*, while that of Kṛishṇa is on the south-west corner.

Shrines of Paraśurāma and Brahmā are rarely to be seen in the temple of the Madras Presidency. The only one to the latter deity that is known so far is in the temple of Bhikshāṇḍār in the Trichinapoly district. We know of none dedicated to Paraśurāma, though there is a Śiva temple called Paraśurāmeśvara at Guḍimallam in the North Arcot district which contains a Śiva liṅga. Owing to this circumstance, the Tiruvallam temple is of importance. Offering of *bāli* to the dead at this place, on the occasion of the full-moon and new-moon days, is considered very meritorious and crowds of people, belonging specially to the Nāyar community, go there for the purpose.

The further antiquities of Tiruvallam consist of a shrine for Śāstā, erected on a hillock to the east of the Paraśurāma temple; and of some Nāga stones with figures of Kṛishṇa, placed under the shade of the serpent's hood, found under an old tree in the street outside of the temple.

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] கொல்லம் சாய௨ ண்டாமாண்டைத் தனுவ் வியாழம் மக ரஞாயிறு [ய-செ]ன்ற ஞாயி-
2. று இ[ரெ]வதி இந்நாளால் திருவல்லத்து ஸ்ரீமுகமண்டபத்தில்
3. இருந்நு செயித செயிகடவொலைக்கரணமாவிது [॥*] மாடத்து சாக்கி திருவா-
4. ண்டி திருவல்லத்து திங்களமாவாதிதொறுஞ் செல்லுமாறு கல்ப்பிச்-
5. ச செலவு [।*] திருக்கண்ணப்பன்னும் மாதெவன் திருவடிக்குந் திரு வமு-
6. ர்தின் னரி மடை ஙி-யுந் [।*] நஉஸ்லாரம் ஙி-ன்னும் பேர் க-ன் னரி வெஞ் சனம் உ-
7. ள்ப்பட அரிமடை ஙட-ழியும் [।*] ஆராதிக்குந் நம்பிக்கு நெல் ஊ[1] க-ம் [।*]
8. திங்கள்[2] உவாவின்தொறுஞ் செல்லுமாறு கல்ப்பிச்சரி மடை உய-ழிக்கு-
9. ந் நெல் ஊ[1] க-ழிக்கும்

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! On this day of Rēvatī (corresponding to) a Sunday, the 10th (*solar day*), expired, of the month of Makara when Jupiter stood in Dhanus (*-rāśi*), of the Kollam year 412, the (*following*) deed (enjoining) what should be perfomed was made in the sacred front *maṇḍapa* (*of the temple*) at Tiruvallam:— Śākki Tiruvāṇḍi of Māḍam ordered (*the under mentioned*) expenses to be incurred on the new-moon days of each month (in the temple at Tiruvallam).

1. This symbol stands for நெல்.
2. ள் is a correction from some other letter.

5 *nāḻi* of rice (*as measured*) by the temple measure (*maḍai*),[1] for the sacred offering of Tirukkaṇṇappaṉ and Mahādēvaṉ-Tiruvaḍi (*i. e.* Śiva): rice for 5 *namaskāram*,[2] at the rate of 3 *nāḻi* of rice, (*as measured*) by the temple measure (*maḍai*) for 1 person, inclusive of rice and condiment: 1 *nāḻi* of paddy for the *nambi* who performs worship:[3] (*in all*) the expenses ordered to be defrayed on the new-moon days of each month amount to 20 *nāḻi* of rice (*as measured*) by the temple measure and 1 *nāḻi* of paddy.

M. R. Ry. Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai, to whom I sent the date for verification, is kind enough to note that Kollam 412, Jupiter in Dhanus, Makara 10, expired, Sunday, Rēvati, is equivalent to "Sunday, 4th January A. D. 1237. "Rēvati" ended on this day at ·88 (53 ghaṭikas); the day of solar month was 11 Makara, so that "expired" in this case is significant in that it adds one to the expressed date (10th). Jupiter was in Dhanus".

No. 11.—Tiruvallam Inscription of Virakeralavarman: Kollam 399.

This inscription, dated in the Kollam year 399 (= A. D. 1224), and falling in the reign of the Vēṇāḍu king Vīrakēraḷavarman, is engraved on the west base of the Brahmā shrine in the temple at Tiruvallam, a village in the vicinity of Trivandrum. Its preservation is good. The alphabet employed is Vaṭṭeḻuttu and the language is Tamiḻ, as spoken in the west coast, with a large admixture of forms peculiar to Malayāḷam, such as *eḍattu* for *iḍattu*, *kalpichcha* for *kalpitta*, *śārttichchu* for *śātti*, *Kaṇṇappaṇṇu* for *Kaṇṇappaṉukku*, *namaskārattiṇṇu* for *namaskārattukku* and *oḷḷa* for *uḷḷa*.

Namaskāram (ll. 3 and 5) is the day-meal given in temples to Brāhmaṇas at the time of offering rice to the god, while *attāḻam* (l. 37) denotes the night meal.

Vādil (l. 4) for *vāśal* and *dādar* (l. 6) for *dāsar* furnish instances of the rule that *ta* takes the place of *sa* or *śa*. Compare *tamanchitaṉ* for *samanjita* and *tannadi* for *sannadhi*. In *śōgigaḷ*, which evidently stands for *yōgigaḷ*, we observe the change of *ya* into *śa*. Perhaps its intermediary form was *jōgi* as pronounced in North India. In the Tanjore inscriptions, there figures a *Śōnaka* or *Jōnaka* derived from *Yōnaka* or *Yavana*.[4] The Grantha letters that occur in the inscription are *svasti śrī* (l. 1) and *śrī* (l. 1) *namaskāra* (l. 5) *dīpa* (l. 9) *sabhai* and *chandra* (l. 10).

The inscription registers gift of the jīvita-rights on Nigamam in Teṅga-nāḍu, for offerings to the gods Mahādēva, Tirukkaṇṇappaṉ and Gaṇapati. The

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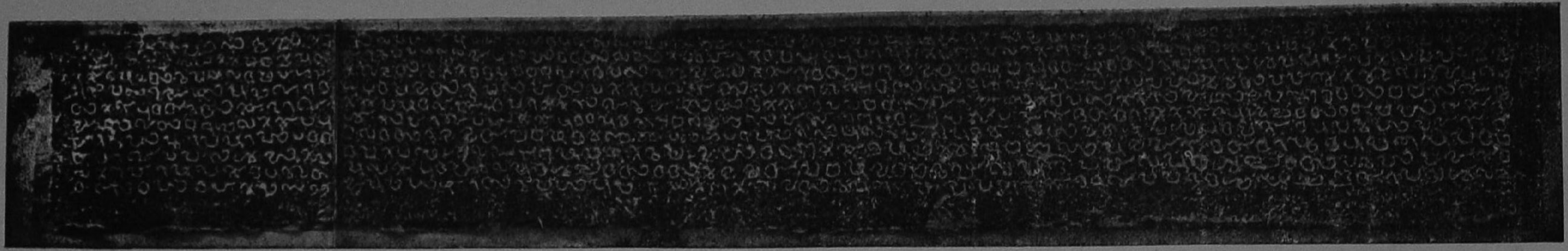
1 The full expression used in other inscriptions is திருமடைப்பள்ளி நாழியால் which sometimes occurs in the form மடை நாழியால் and மடையால். *Maḍai* may also be taken in the sense of "cooking".

2 *Namaskāram* is the term applied to the feeding of Brahmins in temples at the time of offering rice to the god during day.

3 ஆராதிக்கும் நம்பி of this inscription corresponds to ஆராதனைசெய்கின்ற நம்பி of another epigraph which is published below.

4 *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, Part V, p. 428.

No. 11 TIRUVALLAM INSCRIPTION OF VIRAKERALAVARMAN.
(to face p. 41)



No. 12. TIRUVALLAM INSCRIPTION OF KOLLAM 411
(to face p. 44)

K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer.

previleges included such incomes as *kaḍmai*, *aḷayerudu-ney* and *taḷaikkāṇam*. By *kaḍamai* is meant the assessment on lands: *kaḍaṉ* is the other form in which it occurs in inscriptions. *Aḷayerudu-ney* of our record corresponds to *nallerudu* of others. It was not hitherto known, whether this small item of tax was paid in kind or money; and it is, therefore, interesting to note that our inscription shows it was a payment made in ghee, though the quantity is not specified. If *kā-ṭchi-erudu-kāśu* found in still other records, is identical with *nallerudu* or *aḷageru-duney*, it must be understood that the fee was also paid in coin, as the suffix *kāśu* seems clearly to indicate.

The places mentioned in the inscription are Tiruvallam, Nigamam and Ariviyūr. Of these, the first two are villages in the Neyyattinkara Taluk. Nigamam is called Nēmam at present. Ariviyūr is perhaps identical with the modern Arivikkara in Māranallūr-pakuthy of the same Taluk.

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [||*] விரிச்சிகத்தில்வ்[1] வியாழந் நின்ற யாண்டு கொல்ல[ம்*] நாகூ௰கூ-தாமாடை[2] மகர ஞாயிற்றுச் செயித[3] காரியமாவிது[4] [||*] வெணாடு வாழ்ந்தருளுகின்ற ஸ்ரீவிரகேரளவர்ம்மர்[5] திரு-

2. வடிக்கமஞ்ச[6] அதிகாரரு[டை*]டய தெங்ஙநாடு சிவிதத்தில் நிகமத்துரக த்து ஆண்டுவ[ரை*]ரயுங் கடமைால்க் கொள்ளுந் நெல் உமாள ஞ்[7] செய்து மழகெருது(ந்)நெய்யுந் தளை-

3. க்காணமுந் திருவல்லத்து மாதெவர்க்குந் திருக்கண்ணப்பன்னுங் கணப திக்குந் நமக்காரத்தின்னுந் நியதமும் அத்தாழத் திருவமுர்து செய்யு மாறு கல்ப்பிச்ச[8]

4. அரி மடை எ-நாழியும் இரண்டிடத்துந் திருவறை வாதில்க்கல்[9] ஓரொதிங் கள் ஒரொத்திவிச்[10] செல்லுமாறு கல்ப்பிச்ச நியமாலைக்குங் கூட எழு-

5. திக் கொடுத்தாரதிகாரர் [||*] இக்[கூறு] முதலா[ய்*] மாதெவர்க் கரி இருநாழி திருக்கண்ணப்பன் னரி இருநாழி கணபதிக்கரி நாழி நமஸ்காரத்தின்னரி இரு-

6. நாழி[||*] இதின்னு[11] மெல்க்காட்டு சொகியார் கூட்டிக் கொடுத்த அ

1. Cancel the letter வ்.
2. Read மாண்டை.
3. Read செய்த.
4. Read காரியமாவது.
5. Cancel ம்.
6. Read °கமஞ்ச.
7. Read உளமை-ஞ்.
8. Read கற்பித்த.
9. This word stands for வாசலின்சண்.
10. Read ஒரோரிடத்தில்.
11. Stands for இதற்கு.

அச்சு அ-ன்னும் பொலியாலொள்ள[1] முதலுங் கூட நாராணதாதர் கைக்கொண்டு செலுத்தித் தாம் விலைகொண்-

7. ட அருவியூர்ப் புரயிடத்தில்த் திருநந்தாவனமுஞ் சமைச்சு முன்றெடத்தும்[2] ஈரண்டு[3] திருமாலயுஞ்[4] சார்த்திச்சு சொறு மெடுத்துகொண்டு வருவிது[5] [||*] நாராண-

8. தாதர் இப்பரிசெ நிகமத்து கடமை நெல் [6]உ௰௱எ-மு. மழுகெருதுநெயி[7] தலைக்காணமு மச்சு அ-ன் பொலியுந் நாராணதாதர் ஆண்டுவரை அறு தி-

9. ங்கள் வாரமுங் கொண்டு குறியுங் கொடுத்து செலவுஞ் செலுத்தித் திரு நந்தாவனமுந் திருமாலயுஞீவமாலயுஞ்[8] செலுத்தி வருவிது[9] [||*] நாராண-

10. தாதரிற் பிற்பாகம் ஸபெஜெயும் பிழார[ர்*] திருவடியும் சொகிகள்க்குந் திருவுள்ளமாயவரை[10]க்கொண்டு இவ்வண்ணமெ ஆசந்த்ரதாரவல் செல்லு[11]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! The (*following is the*) transaction made in the month of Makaram of the Kollam year 399, (*i. e.*) the year (in which) Jupiter stood in Vriśchikam:—

The officers wrote and gave (*i. e. conveyed by document*) the *kaḍamai* (*i. e. tax on land*) of 217[12] (*parai*) of good paddy, *aḻageruḍu-ney* (*i. e. ghee from the good buffaloes*), and *talaikkāṇam*,— received every year from Nigamattūr (*situated*) in the *Jīvita* of Teṅṅa-nāḍu, belonging to the officers of (*i. e. appointed by*) the glorious Vīra-Kēraḷavarmar-Tiruvaḍi, who was pleased to rule the Vēṇāḍu (country),— to the gods Mahādēvar, Tirukkaṇṇappaṉ (*i. e.* Krishṇa) and Gaṇapati (*in the temple*) of Tiruvallam, for *namaskāram* and for making daily

1. Read பொலியாலுள்ள.
2. Read முன்றிடத்திலும்.
3. Read ஈரிரண்டு.
4. Read திருமாலையுஞ்.
5. Read வருவது.
6. Read உ௱௰எ.
7. Read நெய்.
8. Read மாலை.
9. Read வருவது.
10. Stands for மாநவரை.
11. Read செலவு. Some word like செய்வது or செலுத்துவது is omitted to be engraved at the end.
12. In writing out this figure, the engraver seems to have interchanged the symbols for 10 and 100. Thus we have உ௰௱எ instead of உ௱௰எ. According to a stone inscription of Mitrānandapuram, the paddy required for a daily offering of 4 *nāḻi* of rice is 120 *paṟai*. Hence, for 7 *nāḻi* of rice daily, the quantity of paddy must be 210 or 217 as in this record.

sacred offerings of *attāḷam* required to be prepared out of 7 *nāḷi* of rice, (*as measured by*) the temple measure as well as for the garland of lamps[1] required to be put up, by monthly turns, in the two places at the entrance into the *sanctum*. Receiving on hand the fund of this share (*i. e.* assignment) made for two *nāḷi* of rice to the Mahādēvar, two *nāḷi* of rice to Tirukkaṇṇappar, (*one*) *nāḷi* of rice to Gaṇapati and two *nāḷi* of rice for *namaskāram*, and receiving also the fund derived from the interest on 8 *achchu*, given by the *Sōgiyār* (*i. e.* the Yōgi) of Mēlkkāḍu to be added to this, Nārāṇatādar shall defray the (*required*) expenses. He shall lay out a sacred flower-garden in the *puraiyiḍam* of Ariviyūr, which he had purchased; shall supply two sacred garlands to each of the three places (*i. e. the three* shrines); and shall receive food.

Thus shall Nārāṇatādar receive, once in six months, the *kaḍamai*-paddy of 217 (*parai*), *aḷag-erudu-ney* and *taḷaikkāṇam* from Nigamam, and the interest on the sum of 8 *achchu*. (*He shall*) give receipt, defray the expenses, (lay out) the sacred flower-garden, and supply the sacred garland of lamps. After (*the demise of*) Nārāṇatādar, the expenses (*shall be conducted*) in this (*i. e. the abovesaid*) manner, as long as the moon and the stars endure, by persons who shall be selected for the purpose by the assembly, the Paḷārar-Tiruvaḍi and the Śōgigāḷ (*i. e.* the Yōgis).

No. 12.—Tiruvallam Inscription of the Kollam year 411.

This unfinished inscription is engraved on the base of the west wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the Brahmā shrine at Tiruvallam. It is in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet and Tamiḻ language, and is dated in the 5th solar day, expired, of the month Makara in the Kollam year 411, when Jupiter was in Vṛiśchika-rāśi and the Nakshtra was Pūram. At my request, this date was examined by M. R. Ry. Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai. He notes that it is equivalent to "Sunday, 30 December 1235. On this day, Pūram or Nakshatra Pūrva-Phalgunī ended at ·73 of day (44 ghaṭikas) after mean sunrise and it was the 5th day of Makara month, so that in this case the suffix "expired" is expletive, not significant. Jupiter was in Vṛiśchika."

N. B. "To this use of *expired* we have an exact parallel in the citation of *tithis* and *nakshatras* which are sometimes referred to by the day of commencement. At other times by the day on which they ended. In all cases the week-day supplies the necessary check".

The object of the inscription appears to be to register a gift made by one Vijaiyan Iravi of Tekkiṇkāvu. Mention is made of Mukundōttama-Bhaṭārar-Tiruvaḍi, who must have been connected with the temple management at Tiruvallam.

At the time of this record, the ruling king of Vēṇāḍu was Vīra-Ravikēraḷavarman. His Kaṇḍiyūr inscription is dated in Kollam 393,[1] while his other Tiruvallam record is dated six years later.[2] At Maṇalikkarai, we have another

1 Above Vol. I. p. 290.
2 Above p. 40f.

epigraph of his, which belongs to the same Kollam year as the subjoined one but is later by 3 months and 22 days.[1]

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] விரிச்சிகவ் வியாழத்தில் யாண்டு கொல்லம் ௪௱௰௧-தாமாண்டை மகரஞாயிறு ௫-சென்றஞாப்[2] பூரம் இந்நாளால் திருவல்லத்து தெக்கின் திருச்சுற்றுமண்டபத்தில்
2. ஸபைய் ஸ்ரீ முகுந்தொத்தம பழார திருவடி தன்னதியில் கூடி இருந்து செத காரி[ய*]மாவிது தெக்கின்காவில் விசையனிரவி

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! On the day of Pūram corresponding to the 5th solar day expired, of the month Makara of the Kollam year 411, the year in which Jupiter stood in Vṛiśchika, (*the members of*) the assembly having met together in the presence of the glorious Mukundōttama-Bhaṭārar-Tiruvaḍi in the hall of the south enclosure at Tiruvallam transacted the (following) business:—

Vijaiyan Iravi of Tekkinkāvu . . . .

No. 13— On the south wall of the Krishna shrine at Trivandram.

This unfinished inscription is engraved on the south wall of the Kṛishṇa shrine in the Padmanābhasvāmin temple at Trivandrum. The object of it is to register a gift, made in the presence of Prajñādhyaksha-Bhaṭārar and the assembly of Tiruvānandapuram, by a certain Śaṅkaraṉ Dēvaṉ of Pūkkōḍu for maintaining of two Vṛiśchika-lamps.

Pūkkōḍu may be identified with Pūṅgōḍu, a village in the Neyyāttinkarai Taluk. The paleography of the inscription shows that it must be earlier than the time of Kōdai-Mārtāṇḍavarman.

The Sanskrit letters that occur in this record are *Svasti śrī*, *śrī* in *śrīmukha sabhai* and *Prajñādhyaksha* in line 1. *Tannadi* and *tamañjidaṉ* are altered forms of *sannadhi* and *samañjita*.

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ[॥*] மினத்தில் வியாழந் நின்ற விரிச்சிக ஞாயிற்று திருவானந்தபுரத்து ஸபையும் தமஞ்சிதனும் திருவாய[ம்*]பாடி ஸ்ரீ முகமண்டபத்தில் ப்ரஜ்ஞாத்யக்ஷபடாரர் தன்னதியில் [கூ]டி இருந்நருளியடத்து

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1 See below No. 19.

2 ஞாப்பூரம் is a compound of நாள் and பூரம். நாள் has changed into ஞாள் and lost its final consonant. The verification of the details of date has proved the correctness of the reading.

2. திருவாயம்பாடிப் பிள்ளைக்கு இரணடு விரிச்சிகத் திருவிளக்கினு பூக்கொ
ட்டு சங்கரந் தெவ[1]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the month of Vṛiśchika (*of the year*) in which Jupiter stood in Mīṇa, and on the occasion when (*the members of*) the assembly of Tiruvāṇandapuram and the *samañjita* had met together in the sacred *mukha-maṇḍapa* of Tiruvāyambāḍi in the presence of Prajñādhyaksha-Bhaṭārar, Śaṅkaran Dēvan of Pukkōḍu . . . . for (*burning*) two Vṛiśchika lamps in (*the shrine of*) Tiruvāyambāḍi-Piḷḷai (*i. e.* Kṛishṇa).

No. 14.—On the South wall of the Krishna shrine in the Padmanabha-svamin temple at Trivandrum.

This inscription is engraved on the south wall of the Tiruvāyambāḍi-Kṛishṇa shrine in the Padmanāhbasvāmin temple. It is in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet and is not dated in any era, but only mentions the year when Jupiter was in Karkaṭaka and the month Vṛiśchika, which details are too insufficient to calculate or verify. The object of the record is to registar a gift of lands in Peruvēṇāḍu, by Kāmaṉ Kuṉṟappōḻaṉ of Perundōṭṭam in Kuṭṭamaṅgalam, for maintaining a sacred lamp in the shrine of Tiruvāyambāḍi-Perumāḷ, i. e. Kṛishṇa. Kuṭṭamaṅgalam may be identified with the village of that name in the Mūvāttupuḻai Taluk.

There is an unpublished copper-plate fragment belonging to Māmbaḷḷi whose size and script are almost the same as those of Śrīvallabhan Kōdai dated in the Kollam year 149[2]. It mentions Kāmaṉ Kuṉṟappōḻaṉ but does not give his native village. If this individual is identical with the one mentioned in the subjoined record, the latter may be assigned to the 10th century A. D. and the antiquity of the Tiruvāyambāḍi shrine will be taken to a much earlier period than that indicated in the inscription of Kōdai Mārthāṇḍaṉ.[3]

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ[||*] கற்கடகத்தில் வியாழந் நின்ற யாண்டு விருச்சிக ஞாயிற்று
த் திருவானந்தபுரத்துத் திருவாய்ப்பாடிப் பெருமாளுக்கு குட்டம
ங்கலத்து பெருந்தொட்டத்து காமங்குன்றப்பொழனமைச்ச திருநந்-

2. தாவிளக்கு ஒன்றினுக்குங் [கா]மங்குன்றப்பொழன் அட்டிக்குடுத்த பூமி
[||*] பெருவெணாட்டில் [குஞசர்] வயலு மிதனொடு செல்லுந்தெங்கு
தொட்டமும் கரையும் பெருமடை வயலு மிதனொடு செல்லுந் தெங்கு
தொட்டமுங் கரையு[||*] மிநநி-

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1 After this letter there are some mason's marks.
2 Ep. Ind. Vol. IX. pp. 234 ff.
3 See belove, p. 46.

3. ல மித்தனைக்குந் தன்னுடைய மருமக்களெய் காராண்மை செய்து மெற் பாதிகொண்டு திருவிளக்கு செலுத்துவிது[॥*] முட்டுகில் முட்டிர ட்டி செலுத்திப் பின்னையு மிவகளெ காராண்மை செய்விதாக இ-

4. ப்பூமி அட்டிக்குடுத்தான் காமங்குன்றப் பொழன் ॥-

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the month Vrišchika of the year when Jupiter was in Karkataka, Kāmaṉ Kuṉṟappōḻāṉ of Perundōṭṭam in Kuṭṭamaṅgalam provided one sacred lamp to (*the temple of*) Tiruvāyambaḍi-Perumāḷ at Tiruvānandapuram and assigned for it with libation (*of water*) the lands *Kunjūr-vayal* in Peruvēṇāḍu, together with the cocoanut garden and the *karai* attached to it; as well as the *perumaḍai-vayal* together with the cocoanut garden and *karai* attached to it. For all these lands, his nephews should have the *kārāṇmai* right (*i. e.* the right of cultivation) and that they should, with the owner's share obtained from them, maintain the lamp. Kāmaṉ Kuṉṟappōḻaṉ gave with libation (*of water*) these lands stipulating that if default was made, double the quantity should be paid and that even afterwards these persons (*i. e.* the nephews) should retain the *kārāṇmai* right.

No. 15.—Trivandrum Inscription of Kodai Marthanda.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the south wall of the Gōšala-Krishṇa shrine in the Padmanābhasvāmin temple at Trivandrum. The first part of it, which is in the Sanskrit verse, has been taken to be a separate record and treated as such, by more than one gentleman who had had the occasion to handle it. I consider, however, that it is proper to view the whole as a single inscription as it seems that this is clearly the intention of the engr ver. In this connection, it may be noted that the second part begins in the same line where the first ends, without leaving any vacant space between. Moreover, the latter part is not introduced by the usual benedictory phrase "Švasti-šrī" which generally begins an inscription. Many an instance might be cited to show that the procedure adopted in this inscription was the identical one followed in engraving bilingual epigraphs in ancient times. If further proof were needed, that could be found in the fact that the object of the Sanskrit portion and that of the Vaṭṭeḻuttu part that follows it, is one and the same. As in the case of all bilingual epigraphs, the second part gives more details, while the first serves only the purpose of a short introduction to it. We would point out that even the wording of the two parts agree so well that there is little room for any doubt in the matter. One can find almost a literal translation of *Uttuṅga-Jīvē Dhanushi Ādityarāma Syānandūra Gōshṭhālaya kamaladrišē rajata-krita-diṇḍimam aaišat krita naivēdyam* of the Sanskrit portion, in *Karkaṭaka-Viyāḻattil Danu-ñāyirru Ādichcharāman Tiruvānandapurattu Tiruvāyambāḍi-ppiḷḷaikku veḷḷi-tiruvaṇukkatuḍiyum koḍuttu tiruvamudu kalppichchu* of the Vaṭṭeḻuttu part. We have purposely called attention to the identical nature of the two as it will serve to remove some of the misconceptions entertained by others in the understanding of this inscription.

In treating the Sanskṛit portion as a separate epigraph, the late Prof. Prof. Sundaram Pillai, who had devoted much time and thought to the inscriptions of the State, was of opinion:—

(i) that Ādityarāma was a king of Vēṇāḍu, being called "the prosperous and honoured soul of the earth." The expression "the bearer of the umbrella of Kōda Mārttāṇḍa" meant, according to him, that he inherited the kingdom from the latter and that he was not the personal servant of another individual.

(ii) that the date of the inscription is expressed in the *kaṭapayādi* system by the word "Mārtāṇḍa" and is equal to Dhanus 365 M. E. or to about the end of December 1189, when astrologically Jupiter was in that part of the heavens which is graced by the figure crab.

(iii) that Kōḷambhādhīśa "the god of Kōḷamba" meant the king who instituted, or took part in the institution of, the era of Kōḷamba, and not the reigning king of the day. Accordingly, with the aid of Mr. Shangunni Menon's *History*, Mr. Pillai identified him with that ancester of the Vēṇāḍu kings who in Kollam 1 started the Malabar era.

The following extract from the pen of Mr. Sundaram Pillai will serve to show how sceptic he himself was regarding the permanent retention of Ādityarāma in the list of the Vēṇāḍu kings. He says:—

"Thus then, beyond all doubt, there reigned over Vēṇāḍu on the 25th Mēḍam 371 M. E. or about the beginning of May 1196, Śrī-Vīra-Rāmavarma-Tiruvaḍi. This date is but 23 years and a month later than that of *Śrī-Vīra*-Udaiyamārtāṇḍavarman at Tiruvaṭṭāṟu .... the last firm ground we have. The interval cannot surely be considered too large for one reign, supposing we are constrained by further researches to reject, as foreign to the dynasty, both Ādityarāma of the Gōśāla inscription, and Kēraḷavarman II of the Āṟṟiṅgal fragments. But the latter contingency, at any rate, as far as Ādityarāma, is so far improbable, that it may be well set aside, except in the way of satisfying the conscience of the ultra-sceptical. If we admit then either of these two names, we abridge the interval respectively to six or three years—periods too short to disturb in the least our belief in the uninterrupted succession of the sovereigns, the records have served to bring to light."

Here we may indicate briefly how it is not possible, so far as Ādityarāma is concerned, to retain him in the list of the Vaṇāḍu kings; how the date assigned for the Gōśāla inscription cannot be upheld; and how consequently, Kōda Mārtāṇḍavarman, whose umbrella-bearer Ādityarāma was, cannot be identified with the king of that name, who instituted the Kollam era.

(i) As regards the first point, it may be said that the words *mānya-ātmā-kshamāyāh,* because they refer to the umbrella-bearer of the king, should not be taken in the sense "the prosperous and honoured soul of the earth" but must be rendered "the praiseworthy soul of patience". The Vaṭṭeḻuttu portion of the inscription is quite explicit when it states that Ādityarāma was but a native of

Marudamaṉ, which place may be identified either with Marudamaṉbhāgam of the Pattanapuram Taluk or with Marudamaṉpaḷḷi of the Kottarakkarai Taluk. He had nothing to do with the possession of Vēṇāḍu and cannot be raised to the proud position of a king and made a remote descendant of the famous Mārtāṇḍavarman who instituted the Kollam era. He could be no better than a personal servant of king Mārtāṇḍavarman, and his umbrella-bearer as the Sanskrit portion distinctly calls him.

(ii) and (iii) may be considered together. First as regards the date assigned to this inscription, we have to note that it was never the intention of the writer to give any, except the planetary position; and that M. E. 365 will least suit it. In the extract given above, Mr. Sundaram Pillai refers to another inscription which is dated both in Kollam 371 and the year in which Jupiter was in the same *rāśi* as in the Gōśāla epigraph; but fails to see, however, that the position of Jupiter could not be in the same sign in M. E. 365, which is only six years behind 371 and not 12 years as it ought to be, for that planet takes a dozen years to come to the same position. The inscription referred to by him is the Veḷḷāṇi record of the Vēṇāḍu king Vīra-Rāmavarman which we have edited above, No. 9. If we have to assign a date to the Gōśāla inscription at all, it would be correct to say that it belongs to Kollam 371. There would not be much to militate against it. On the other hand, the circumstance that this document was written by a certain Kaṇḍaṉ-Udayaṉaṉ, a native of Kaidavāy, the same individual that wrote the epigraph of Vīra-Rāmavarman, dated in the same year, would go a long way to confirm the inference. There would be no impossibility, however, for the inscription being dated exactly 12 years earlier, or 12 years later. In case the date of the Gōśāla inscription is the same as the Veḷḷāyaṇi one of the Kollam year 371, for which the possibility is greater, we note that Vīra-Rāmavarman should have succeeded Mārttāṇḍavarman in the interval between Dhanus and Mēḍam of that year. This interval could be still further reduced with the help of a Mitrānandapuram inscription as we have noted above. According to it, the date of accession of Vīra-Rāmavarman should have taken place in December 1195 or January 1196. From what has been said above, it will be observed that there is no reference in the Gōśāla inscription to that Mārtāṇḍavarman who, according to Mr. Shangunni Menon, instituted the Kollam era; and that, on the other hand, it is likely there was a Mārttāṇḍavarman immediately before Vīra-Rāmavarman. It was in his reign that Ādityarāma made his gift of a silver drum to the Gōśāla Kṛishṇa shrine. As regards the provisional Kēraḷavarman evolved from the Āṟṟiṅgal fragments, we have only to note that better evidence is necessary to establish that he flourished in Kollam 368. Taking into consideration the two fragments as published in the *Indian Antiquary* we find no reason whatsoever to connect the two, one of which is dated but does not mention any king, while the other mentions king Kēralavarman but does not give a date. The late Mr. Sundaram Pillai was therefore, quite right when he said that the connection of the two fragments was by no means safe. One other point to which we have to draw attention is the fact that the late Mr. Gopinatha Rao has read the date of the Tiruvaṭṭāṟu inscription which appeared to be a firm ground as Kollam 388 instead of 348.

The antiquity of Trevandrum and its temple of Śrī-Padmanābhasvāmin being beyond question, the inscriptions of the Gōśāla Krishṇa shrine under discussion serve to correct the notion that king Ādityavarman *alias* Sarvāṅganātha, whose Sanskrit epigraphs have been published already in Volume I, pp. 171 ff, did "*build newly*" the cow-house or cattle-shed, the house of beautiful lamps and the shrine of Krishṇa with its open hall or *maṇḍapa*"in the Śaka year 1296 (A. D. 1374), but that he only renewed them. The phrase *kritavānnavatam* used in No. III (p. 172) distinctly points to the same conclusion. Therefore, both in the translation and in the introduction given on pages 131 to 173 the word "*renewed*" must be substituted for "*constructed*" or "*built newly*" wherever they occur. By the fact that Kaṇḍaṉ Udayaṉaṉ figures in our inscription, it is certain that the shrine of Gōśāla Krishṇa is as old as, if not older than, Kollam 371, which again is fully a century and a half earlier than the date furnished in the records of Sarvāṅganātha.

The *Grantha* letters used in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu portion are *sabhai* and *npadramabha* in line 8, *ndra* in line 17 and *śrī-Vishṇubhakta* in line 38. It is particularly worthy of mention that the Grantha *na* is shaped in all epigraphs of the period to which our record belongs almost like the modern Malayāḷam *na*, while the Vaṭṭeḻuttu *na* and *na* are shaped quite differently. So far, no inscription in Malayāḷam characters, referrable to the fourth century of the Kollam era, has been discovered, all the inscriptions in the western dialect being either in Tamiḻ or Vaṭṭeḻuttu. It is worth noting that many of the letters in the modern Malayāḷam bears close resemblance to the Grantha of the 4th century of the Kollam era rather than to the Vaṭṭeḻuttu of the same period,—a fact that may lead to the inference that such letters are developments of the corresponding Grantha symbols. The shape of the Grantha *da* in the subjoined epigraph, as in allied inscriptions, resembles the Vaṭṭeḻuttu *ta*. It is available for comparison in lines 2, 4, and 6. The symbol for *mēṟpaḍi* (*ditto*) and for *ṉo* whose occurrence is very rare, are figured in lines 14, 19, 23, and 26. *Ṉo* resembles almost the letter *ku* and the difference between the two has been noted already.

The following dialectic peculiarities deserve recording:— *iruṉnaruḷiyeḍattu* (l. 9) for *irundaruḷiyaviḍattu*; *koṭṭuvāṉ* (l. 11) for *koṭṭuvadukku*; *koṭṭumavaṉu*, *paḍiṉañjiṉṉu* and *nālinnu* for *koṭṭumavaṉukku*, *paḍiṉaindiṉukku* and *nālukku* (ll. 18, 20, 21); *teṇḍa* (ll. 31, 32) for *daṇḍam*; *tuḍai* for *taḍavai* (l. 26); *tandadi* (l. 34) for *santati*; *kalppichchu* (l. 13); and *āṇḍuvara* (l. 16) for *āṇḍuvarai*.

Śēgōppaṇi, which occurs in lines 29 and 35 seems to be a compound of *śēgō* and *paṇi* of which the first part calls for remark. As an adjectival or noun termination *ō* is obselete in Tamiḻ. It is only met with in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu ephigraphs of the west coast, and it seems to stand for *āvadu* or *kiṟa*. Some examples of these are noted below: —

śeṉṉaḍaikk-amaiñja bhūmiyāvō (above Vol. II p. 24).

A trace of this use of *ō* is to be found in such expressions as *kiṉaṟṟilō kuḷattilō*.

1 *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. I. p. 296.

Tuḍi is a particular kind of wide mouthed drum similar to the *paṟai*, employed by the people of *kuruñji* lands.

In lines 20 to 25, it is stated that the paddy to be given to the temple as interest on money lent must be brought to the *maṇḍapa* of the Tiruvāyambāḍi shrine once every year on the day of Uttira-Phalgunī in the month of Paṅguṇi and measured out there and given over to the temple authorities. The quantity of paddy must be exlusive of *puṟaikkūli* by which is perhaps meant the insidental charges such as the carriage fees, tolls, etc. *Puṟaikkūli* sometimes occurs in the form *puṟakkūli*. An inscription edited above states that the paddy must be dried and freed from husk before being measured. Other epigraphs are even more explicit and state that these charges had to be borne by the person who was bound to give the quantity of paddy: thus, there is no doubt as regards the party who should incur the expenses.

Vaippāṉ (l. 17) is used just as in modern Malayāḷam and means "for cooking". *Śarada* seems to be derived from *sarasa* by changing the *sa* into *da* and means "agreeably or suitably". The use of the word *kuṟi* in the sense of "a receipt" (l. 36) may be noted.

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] ஸத்யாநந்தைகரூபாஷ்டமு
2. ய கலெருபமெ ரூபாவர்த்தமானரூபாஜ்ஞ-
3. பாயீம[த்ஷ]த்ரவாஹீ யதந்ஷி அ கரத்தமெநவெரூ-
4. லந்த்ரம்ஷஜீவெ [।*] ஸ்ரீலாநாதித்யராஜஸ்ஸ ஷி ரஜதகரத-
5. ண்ணீலலிதராஹண்ணிண்ணராவண்ணஷண்ணரூந்தி ப-
6. ஹலிதிபலாநந்ந ஞுலா கஷலாயா:[1] ॥ கர்க்கடவ் வி-
7. யாழத்தில்த் தனு ஞாயிற்று [தி]ருவா[ன]ந்தபுரத்து
8. ஸமெஜயுஞ் சமஞ்சிதனும் [2]வரூராலஹமூரார் தி-
9. ருவடியுங்கூடி இருந்நருளியெடத்து மருதி-
10. மண் ஆதிச்சராமன் திருவாயம்பாடிப் பிள்ளை-
11. க்கு கொட்டுவான் வெள்ளித்திருவணுக்கத் துடியு-
12. ங் கொடுத்து நியதி மடையால் இரு நாழிச் செய்தரி
13. திருவமிர்து செய்யுமாறு கல்பிச்சு கொடுத்த மூ-
14. ன்று சலாகையும் அழகச்சு முப்பதும் ஷடியில் மெ-
15. ல்ச்சாந்தி செய்யுந் நம்பிமாரிடங் கொடுத்துப் பொ-
16. லியால் ஆண்டுவர கொள்ளுந் நெல் [ஒ]க்கும் பறையால்
17. அறுபது பறை செய்துங் கொண்டு ஆசந்த்ரதாரவல் செலவு
18. செலுத்தி வருவிது [॥*] திருவணுக்கத்துடி கொட்டுமவனு
19. விருத்திக்கு ஷடியான் புலவர்ம்[பி]ல் கொளராமன்-

1 Meter *Sragdhara*.

2 There is some space befor வ which might have contained a letter: வ looks like தவ. Perhaps ஸர்வரூராலஹ is intended.

K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer.

20. னு கடங் கொடுத்த மூன்று சலாகையும் அழகச்சு பதினஞ்-
21. சின்னும் பணந் நாலின்னும் பொலியால் அண்டுவ[ை*]ர பங்-
22. குனி உத்தரத்தின்னு குவையூ[ர்]க்காலில் நிர்மண்ண-
23. டி நிலம் பதிநொரு பறை வித்துபாட்டாலும் புறை[க்]-
24. கூலி[யும்] நீக்கி திருவாயம்பாடி மண்டபத்தில்க் கொ[ண்]-
25. டுவந் நளவுதருந் நெல் ஒக்கும் பறையால் முப்-
26. பது பறை[||*] இந்நெல் ஒரு தடை முட்டுகில் இந்நிலமும்
27. மிக்கு ஷேடியாற்றுள்ள பூமி புரையிடம் எப்பெர்ப்பட்ட-
28. துந் தடுத்து விலக்கி வளைச்சுவச்சு அச்சும் பொலியும் [த]-
29. ண்டிக்கொண்டு பின்னையும் சாதமாயி ஓரடத்து கொடுத்து பொலி[யு]-
30. ங்கொண்டு செகொப்பணியுஞ் செய்துவருவிது [||*] திருவமிர்து
31. ஒன்று முட்டுகில் முட்டிரட்டி [|*] இரண்டு முட்டுகில் முட்டிர[ட்]-
32. டியுந் தெண்டமும் [|*] மூன்று முட்டுகில் ஸமெஹயுஞ் சமஞ்சி-
33. தனும் திருவுள்ளமாயி தெண்டமும் வைச்சு முட்டிரட்டியு[ஞ்]-
34. செலுத்துவிது[||*] இத்திருவனுக்கத்துடி திருவாயம்[பா]-
35. டி உவச்சன் காமன் கிருட்டன் தந்ததிப்பிரவெச[மெ]
36. செகொப்பணி செய்து சொறுங் கொண்டு விருத்தியில் [நி]-
37. ன்று வருந் நெல்லும் அளவு கொண்டு குறியுங் கொடுத்[து]
38. வருவிது [||*] இச்செலவு வைப்பான் கொடுத்த உருளி ஒன்று [||*]
இ[து]
39. ஸ்ரீ விஷ்ணுஹஸ்தன் கைதைவாய்க் கண்டன் உதையனன் எழுத்து [||*]

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In (*the month of*) Dhānus of (*the year*) when Jupiter was at its zenith, the illustrious Ādityarāma, the praise worthy soul of patience and the bearer of the umbrella of Kōdamārtāṇḍavarman who was the ruler of Gōḷamba (i. e. Kollam), gave to the lotus-eyed (*god*) residing in the unique temple of *Gōshṭālaya*, a fine drum, made of silver, equal in splendour to the Mandara (*mountain*) and lustrous as a huge mass of sea-foam, offerings being provided (*at the same time*).

In the month of Dhanus (*of the year in which*) Jupiter stood in Karkaṭaka, (*on the occasion*) when the assembly of Tiruvaṉandapuram, the accountant (?) (*samañjita*) and [Sam]padrāma-Bhaṭārar-Tiruvaḍi were present together, Ādichcharāman of Maruḍamaṉ presented a silver *tiruvaṉukkattuḍi* for being beaten in (*the temple of*) Tiruvāyambāḍi-Piḷḷai (i. e. Kṛishṇa). (*He also*) ordered (i. e. provided) for the prepration of a daily sacred offering of two *nāḷi* of clean rice (*as measued*) by the temple measure (*maḍai*). For these, three *śalāgai* and thirty *alagachchu* were given. The above-said money shall be invested with the *nambis*[1] who are the principal priests (*mēl-śānti*) (*of the temple*). Recieving the interest to be obatined every year viz. sixty *parai* of paddy (*as measured*) by the correct

1 It is the principal worshippers in temples that are entitled to be called *nambi*.

paṟai, the expenses shall be defrayed, as long as the moon and the stars (*exist*). The interest due on three *śalāgai*, fifteen *aḷag-achchu* and four *paṇam* given on loan to Kēraḷarāmaṉ of Pulavarambu, viz. thirty *paṟai* of paddy (*as measured*) by the correct *paṟai* from (*the yield of*) the land (*called*) Niramaṇṇaḍi, Kuvaiyūr-kkāl with the sowing capasity of eleven *paṟai* of seed which had to be brought to the *maṇḍapa* (*in front*) of the Tiruvāyambāḍi (*shrine*) and measured and given (*there*),annualy on the occasion of Paṅguṉi-Uttiram, exlusive of *puṟaikkūli*,— shall be for the wages of the person who has to beat the *tiruvaṇakkattuḍi*. If, (*in respect of*) this paddy, default is made once, over and above this land, all kind of lands and gardens (*puraiyiḍam*) belonging to the above named person shall be attached. After realising the capital (*achchu*) and the interest due thereon, they will be suitably invested again in some other place (i. e. *with other persons*) and with the interest (*so*) derived the allotted work shall be conducted. (In respect of) the sacred offering, if default occurs once, double the quantity at default (*shall be obtained*); if default is made a second (*time*), in addition to (*collecting*) double the quantity at default, a fine also (*shall be levied*) ; and if default is made for the third time, double the quantity at default and fine shall be paid to the knowledge of the members of the assembly and the accoutant. Kāmaṉ Kṛishṇaṉ, the drummer of this *tiruvaṇakkattuḍi* (*in the temple of*) Tiruvāyambāḍi and his descendants shall do the assigned duty, recieving food as well as the paddy, measured and given out of the yield of the *vritti* and giving reciept therefor. One *uruḷi* was given for cooking (*the offering*) provided for in this. This is the writing of Kaṇḍaṉ Udaiyaṉaṉ (i. e. Udaiyaṉaṉ son or nephew of Kaṇḍaṉ) of Kaidavāy, a devotee of the glorious Vishṇu.

No. 16.— At the entrance into the Vishnu temple at Parthivapuram.

The subjoined inscription is engraved at the proper right of entrance into the inner enclosure (*śuṟṟu-maṇḍapa*) of the Vishṇu temple at Pārthivapuram. I edit it from an impression secured in 1912.

Except *svasti śri* (l. 1), *rakshā* in *rakshābhōga* (l. 2), and *rakshi* in line 3, the record is free from Sanskrit letters and words. The alphabet employed is Vaṭṭeḻuttu. Thogh from the few published inscriptions in this script it is not possible to fix the age of the inscription with any amout of certainty, exclusively on palæographical grounds, yet for reasons to be shown in a subsequent paragraph it may be assigned to the middle of the eleventh century A. D.

The language of the inscription is Tamiḻ of the same form as is employed in the Mitrānandapuram copper-plates published above.[1] The promiscuous use made of both grammatical and vulgar or dialectic forms of words is specially worthy of note. Among such peculiar forms found in this record may mentioned *kulattiṉu* and *vaḷāviṉu* in line 1, *agaḷ-kuttichchu*, *puraiyiḍattiṉu*, and *eḍattiṉu* in line 2, *oḷḷa* and *oḷḷōr* in line 3, *kaṅgāṇichchu* in line 4, and *Irāyādarāya* in lines 1 and 4.

As in the passage "*naṉai-malar-ppiṇḍināthan nalañ-kiḷar pādamūlam*" which occurs in the *Jīvakachintāmaṇi*, the term *pādamūlam* or *paḍipādamūlam*

1 See Nos. 1 and 2, above.

means, in the first instance, 'the feet of the Lord'. Thence it came to denote the body of people who were entrusted with the management of the temple. These persons were known as '*padipādamūla-ppaṭṭ-uḍai pañchāchāriyar*', perhaps on account of the fact that they consisted of five men who wore silk cloth for the sake of purity and were devoted to service in the central shrine and the regular conduct of worship. They seem to have shared the power of temple management along with the greatmen who formed the village assembly *i. e.* the *sabhai* and the *ūr*. Compare '*ivviḷakku erippōmāṉōm Tiruneyttānattu sabhaiyōmum pādamūlamum*' which occurs in the *South-Indian Inscriptions*.[1]

Vaḷḷuva-nāḍu, which now forms one of the Taluks of Malabar with a large number of Nambūdiri settlements and contains the famous shrine of Bhagavatī at Aṅgāḍipuram and the Kurumandaṉkuṉṉu noted for its festival, was one of the most ancient territorial divisions of the Chēra country. Tradition affords enough grounds for supposing that it played an important part from the earliest times till a very recent date. The urn-burials which abound in the locality, the massive character of their capstones, the articles of value found within them, and the chamber erected round each, indicate that they are the tombs of persons of wealth and consideration.[2] Most probably they contain the remains of the opulent local chiefs.

We can trace the existence of the kingdom from at least the 9th century A. D. It is mentioned in the copper-plate inscription of Karunandaḍakkaṉ[3] dated in A. D. 864 and in that of Vikramāditya Varaguṇa. Mēṛkōḍu is said to have been situated in it. Among the several Hindu chiefs who ratified the grant made by Bhāskara-Ravivarman of the eleventh century A. D. to the Jews of Cochin, figures Irāyiraṉ Śāttaṉ of Vaḷḷuvanāḍu, who was probably a feudatory of that king.[4] A record of A. D. 1007, states that Muṭṭam[5] *i. e.* the modern Eraniel was situated in Vaḷḷuva-nāḍu. During the period of Chōḷa supremacy in Southern India, this kingdom seems to have been left to be governed by persons who owed allegience to them. From an unpublished inscription of Karuppukkōṭṭai, we learn that a certain Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōḷa Vaḷḷuvanāḍāḷvāṉ was its king. But from the date of the record and the palaeography of it, it may be said that this chief was not of the time of the Chōḷa king Parakēsarivarman-Rājēndra-Chōḷa I.

In the subjoined inscription the surname of Kēraḷaṉ Ādichchaṉ viz. Rājādhirāja Vaḷḷuvanāḍāḷvāṉ points to the fact that his overlord was Rājakēsarivarman Rājādhirāja I. The title *varman* affixed to his proper name clearly shows that he was of royal descent. After the conquest of the Pāṇḍya and Chēra countries by the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I, Vaḷḷuvanāḍu came to be a division of Rājarāja-Teṉṉāḍu.[6] By the latter name *i. e.* Rājarāja-Teṉṉāḍu was probably

1 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III. p. 250; and II pp. 112 and 312 n.

2 Logan's *Malabar*, Vol. I. p. 181.

3 See above pp. 5 and 17.

4 *Epi. Ind.* Vol. III. pp. 66ff.

5 See above, p. 292, text-line 30.

6 *Ibid*, text-line 12f, "Rājarāja-Teṉ-Vaḷḷuvanāḍu" given on p. 5 is a mistake for 'Rājarāja-Teṉṉāttu-Vḷḷuvanāḍu'. The evidences so far available do not warrant the inference that there were two Vaḷḷuvanāḍus in ancient times on the west coast.

meant the Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa countries which were situated to the south of the Chōḷa territory, acquired by Rājarāja I by conquest. The Pāṇḍya country itself was called Rājarāja-Pāṇḍināḍu. The territorial extent of Vaḷḷuva-nāḍu appears to have varied at different times,[1] but its importance was maintained all through. The Rājas of Vaḷḷuvanāḍ acted and still act as protectors of the festival of Mahāmakham conducted once in 12 years in the Tirunāvāy temple on the north bank of the Ponnani river in South Malabar.[2] The Zamorin of Calicut is reported to have snatched away a good portion of the Rājā's territory in later days; and at the time of the Mysore conquest there remained to the Rāja only 26 *amśams*, some of which are in Ernad Taluk.[3]

Pārthivaśēkharapuram is a hamlet of Ārudēśapparru which is a pakuthy of the Viḷavaṅgōḍ Taluq. In the Huzur plates of the Āy chief Karunandaḍakkaṉ,[4] dated in A. D. 864—5 and the ninth year of reign, it is recorded that that king purchased from the assembly of Muñchirai the land called Uḷakkuḍiviḷai included in the lands of Paśuṅguḷam, a village in Muḍāla-nāḍu; that its extent and boundaries were fixed by the officers, who circumambulated it, accompanied by a she-elephant; that a sacred temple was built in it and consecrated to the god Vishṇu-Bhaṭṭāraka; and that the village of Pārthivasēkharapuram was formed. From this record it is clear that Pārthivaśēkharapuram, which is identical with the modern Pārthivapuram, came into existence in A. D. 864 and that its Vishṇu temple was also constructed in that very year. Another fact that we gather from the extract is that the village must have been so termed after Pārthivaśēkhara, a probable surname of Karunandaḍakkaṉ. It may be noted that the place is also mentioned in the Huzur plates of Vikramāditya Varaguṇa.[5] In slightly later times, the surname Pāthivaśēkhara appears to have been borne by the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I. and after this name a village was called Pārthivasēkhara-chaturvēdimaṅgalam.[6]

Kāritturai (l. 1), to which the chief mentioned in this inscription belonged, appears to have been the ancient name of Karuppukkōṭṭai near Pudugrāmam and this information is gathered from an unpublished epigraph secured from that place. Kuḷachchai is now called Kuḷachchal and is a pakuthy in the Eraniel Taluk.

In line 2, there is reference to the grant of two *ēr* of land (*i. e.* land that could be turned with two ploughs) to the Pulaiyaṉ[7] whose duty must have been similar to that of a village watchman.

1 See note 7, above.

2 Logan's *Malabar*, Vol. I. p. 162f.

3 *Ibid*, pp. 656-7.

4 See above, Vol. I. pp. 1ff.

5 *Ibid*, pp. 16ff. From the fact that this plate mentions Pārthivasēkharapuram and that the chief Teṅganāḍāḷvāṉ *i. e.* Śāttaṉ Murugaṉ offered his daughter Murugaṉ Śēndi in marriage to Vikramāditya Varaguṇa, it has been surmised that the king must be posterior to, and the successor of Karunandaḍakkaṉ in whose grant Śāttaṉ Murugaṉ figures as the *ājñapti*.

6 Pārthivasēkhara-Chaturvēdimaṅgalam was a village in Miṟaikūṟṟam or Miṟai-nāḍu, a sub-division of Rājēndrasimha-vaḷanāḍu (*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 336).

7 See, above pp. 18-19.

In line 3, it is said that the income from the property conveyed by the *aṭṭippēṟu* shall be one in three of the produce from it, but shall exclude the *pulaikkāval*. It thus appears that the *pulaikkāval* lands (*i. e.* those assigned to the Pulaiyaṉs) are exempt from the payment of any tax. A similar exemption of *pulaikkāval* lands from the payment of taxes and dues occurs in the inscription of Vikramāditya Varaguṇa, already referred to.

The object of the inscription is to register a gift of lands to the chief of Vaḷḷuva-nāḍu, subject to certain conditions which are detailed in the record. Reference is incidentally made to a fort and to a moat surrounding it as well as to the temple at Pārthivaśēkharapuram which are to be benefited by the conditions of the grant.

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ விரிச்சிகத்தில் வியாழ நின்ற சிங்கஞாயிற்று [1]பார்த்தியசெகரபுரத்து பெருமக்கள் குளச்சைக் கொயில்க்குளங்கரைக் காளக்கூட்டங் குறவறக் கூடி[க் கா]ரித்துறைக் கொளனுதிச்சவன்மனுயின இராயாதராய வள்ளுவநாடாழ்வானுக்கு அட்டில்பெறு அவிரொதத்தால் கொடுத்த புரையிடங் குளச்சைக்கொயில் குளத்திநு[2] தெற்கு பாடகச்செரி வளாவினும் மணற்பள்ளி முள்விளைக்கும் [3]பா[லை]யு[ர்*] கொட்டையிற் செம்மரிப்பாறைக்கு மெ

2. ற்கு நாம் அகழ்குத்திச்சு கொடுத்தெடத்தினு வடக்கு புறக்காற்கும் அய்யன்கொயிற்கும் புரையாள்குங் களம் அடுத்து புலையற்கு கொடுத்த இரண்டேர் நிலத்தினுங் கிழக்கு இவ்விசைந்த பெருநான்கெல்லை அகழ் குத்திச்சு [।*] இதிலகப்பட்ட புரையிடம் உண்ணிலம் ஒழிவின்றிபெ நிலப்பயனும் மரப்பயனு[ம்*] உள்ப்பட அட்டில்ப்பெறு கொடுத்து இப்புரையிடத்தினு பார்த்திவசெகரபுரத்து ஆழ்வார்க்கு ரக்ஷாபொகம் ஒரு திருநந்தாவிளக்கு செலுத்துவதாகவும் [।*] இப்புரையி-

3. டஞ்சுற்றுமண்டபத்தினகத்தொடொள்ள பரியாரம் பெறுவதாகவும் [।*] பதிபாதமுலமுங் குளச்சையூரும் இக்கொட்டை ரக்ஷிக்கக்கடவராகவும் இக்குடியிலொள்ளொரொருத்தர் எப்பிழை செய்யிலும் இக்கொட்டையில் ஆரும் ஒருத்தர் ஒரு[க்க][4]னர்த்தம் பண்ணெதெ சுற்றுமண்டபத்தினகத்தொடெ ஒக்க ஒள்ள பரியாரம் பண்ணிக்கொடுத்து குளச்சைக்கு[ம்] மா[வு] நிலம் பந்திருகலமும் அட்டில்ப்பெறு கொடுத்[து] இதினில்ப் புலைக்காவல் நி[க்கி]

4. மூன்றொன்று கங்காணிச்சு கொள்விதாகவும் அவிரொத[த்*]தால் அட்டில்ப்பெறு கொடுத்தொங் கொளனுதிச்சபன்மனை இராயாதராய வள்ளுவநாடாழ்வானுக்கு[5]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the month of Simha, when Jupiter stood in Vṛiśchikam, we the great men of Pārthivaśēkharapuram, having assembled without defi-

1 Read பார்த்திவ.

2 Stands for குளத்திற்கு.

3 Read பாலையூர்.

4 The letters க்க seem to have been erased. We have to correct ரு into ர.

5 There are some punctuation marks after this.

ciency (*in number*) by (*the sounding*) a trumpet,[1] on the bank of the tank (belonging to) the temple at Kuḷachchai, unanimously gave an *aṭṭippēṟu* in favour of Kēraḷaṉ Ādichchaṉ *alias* Rājādhirāja Vaḷḷuvanāḍāḻvāṉ of Kārittuṟai and in respect of the garden (*puraiyiḍam*) (lying)

to the south of the temple-tank at Kuḷachchai,

to the west of the vaḷā (*field*) of Pāḍagachchēri, (*the land called*) Muḷviḷai of Maṇaṟpaḷḷi, and the rock (*known as*) Śemmarippāṟai within the fort at Paralaiyūr,

to the north of the place where we (*the members of the assembly*) dug out and presented a moat, and

to the east of Puṟakkāl, Ayyaṉkōyil, Puraiyāl and the two *ēr* of land adjoining the thrashing ground (*kaḷam*) (*which had been*) granted to the Pulaiyaṉ.[2]

Having dug out a moat in the four great boundaries thus set forth, the garden lying within it,— without excluding the *uṇṇilam* but inclusive of (the right of enjoyment of) the land-produce and the tree-produce, — was given as an *aṭṭippēṟu*, subject to the following conditions:—

From the *rakshābhōgam* of this garden, one sacred lamp shall be provided to the god (Āḻvār) at Pārthivaśēkharapuram.

This garden shall receive the same conditions as those fixed for the enclosure *maṇḍapa*.

The *padipādamūlam* and the villagers of Kuḷachchai shall protect this fort.

If any one residing in this habitation commit any (*kind of*) crime, no one (*living*) in this fort shall cause any trouble; but (*he*) shall be subjected to the same conditions as those which obtain for the enclosure *maṇḍapa*. He shall give an *aṭṭippēṟu* of (*one*) *mā* of land and twelve *kalam* (*of paddy*) to Kuḷachchai. Supervising the cultivation of this land, (*a share of*) one in three (*of the produce*), exclusive of the *pulaikkāral* on this (*land*), shall be taken. (*This*) *aṭṭippēṟu* was (*thus*) unanimously given to Kēraḷaṉ Ādichchavarman *alias* Rājādhirāja-Vaḷḷuvanāḍāḻvāṉ.

No. 17.—Alagiyapandiyapuram Inscription of the Kollam year 252.

The subjoined inscription, which is in good state of preservation, is engraved in the Tamiḻ language and alphabet, on the north base of the central shrine of the Veṅkaṭāchalapati temple at the village of Aḻagiyapāṇḍiyapuram in the Tōvāḷai Taluk of the Padmanābhapuram Division. It registers a gift of land made by a certain Kaṇṇaṉ Dēvaṉ *alias* Uttamapāṇḍiya-Śilaiśeṭṭi, to the temple of Pavittiramāṇikka-Viṇṇagar-Emberumāṉ at Adiyaṉūr *alias* Aḻagiyapāṇḍiyapuram. Among the boundaries of the land granted figures the channel irrigating the fields of Pēykkōḍu. This place may be identified with Pēyōḍu in the Aḻagiyapāṇḍiyapuram Pakuthy.

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1 The verb *uḍi* seems to be omitted after *kāla*.

2 The passage may also be rendered thus:- "to the east of the 2 *ēr* of land granted to the Pulaiyaṉ adjoining the thrashing ground (*kaḷam*) of Puṟakkāl, Ayyaṉkōyil and Puraiyāl.

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [।।*] கொல்லந் தொன்றி யிருநூற்றைம்பத்திரண்டாமாண்டு நாஞ்சிநாட்டதியனூரான அழகியபாண்டியபுரத்து கண்ணன் தெவ-னான உத்தமபாண்டியச் சிலைசெட்டியென் இந்நகரத்-
2. [தெ] . . . டும் விலைகொண்டுடைய பூமி கொட்டியார்குளத்தில் தெற்க-டைந்த நெடுங்கண்ணும் மெலைத்தடியும் பெய்கொட்டில் நீர்பாய்கிற காலுக்கு வடக்கும் பிராயொடு குழிக்கு மெ-
3. ற்கும் மா[ப்பா]ண்டிவயக்கலுக்கு தெற்கும் இந்நான்கெல்லைக்குட்பட்ட பூமி இந்நகரத்து பவித்ரமாணிக்கவிண்ணகரெம்பெருமானுக்கு நித்-தம் நானாழி அரிசி திருவமுதுக்கு சந்த்ராதித்யவரை செல்வுதாக[1] வை-ச்சு குடுத்தென் கண்ண[ன்*]
4. தெவனான உத்தமபாண்டியச் சிலைசெட்டியென்

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the two hundred and fifty-second year after Kollam had appeared, I, Kaṇṇaṉ Dēvaṉ *alias* Uttamapāṇḍiyaśilaiśeṭṭi of Adiyaṉūr *alias* Aḻagiyapāṇḍiyapuram (*situated*) in Nāñji-nāḍu gave the lands Neḍuṅgaṉ and *mēlaittaḍi* on the south side of (*the tank*) Koṭṭiyākuḷam, which I, Kaṇṇaṉ Dēvaṉ *alias* Uttamapāṇḍiyaśilaiśeṭṭi had purchased and (*which lay*) to the north of the channel through which water flows in Pēykkōḍu, to the west of the pit with the *pirāy*[2] (*tree*), to the south of the the field (*called*) Māppāṇḍi-vayakkal and thus included within these four[3] boundaries, for a daily sacred offering of four *nāḻi* of rice to (*the temple of*) Pavittiramāṇikka-Viṇṇagar-Emberumāṉ of this city, so that it may be conducted as long as the moon and the sun endure.

No. 18.—Alagiyapandiyapuram Inscription of the Kollam year 299.

This inscription, which is engraved in Tamil characters, on the west base of the central shrine in the Veṅkaṭāchalapati temple at Aḻagiyapāṇḍiyapuram, is dated in the Kollam year 299 (= A. D. 1124), and registers an *aṭṭippēṟu* grant of lands made by the citizens of that village to a certain Kōṉ Kēraḷaṉ. The conditions of the grant are that the donee shall have the right of kāraṇmai (*i. e.* the privilege of owning the lands and cultivating them) and that on receiving the owner's share of the produce, he should pay to the temple of Pavitramāṇikka-Viṇṇagar-Emberumāṉ the land-tax (*kaḍamai*) of seven *kalam* of paddy and one quarter of a *kāśu* on this holding of 13 *mā* of land. A *vēli* being equal to 20 *mā*, the *kaḍamai* on one *vēli*, at the rate specified in the inscription, would work out to very nearly 11 *kalam* (or, to be more accurate, to 10 $\frac{10}{13}$ kalam) of paddy. It is further gathered from this inscription that the land tax was paid mostly in kind with a small amount of money. The quantity of paddy to be paid as tax, it is

1 Read செல்வதாக.

2 This is a tree with a milky juice: *trophis aspera*.

3 The Eastern boundary is omitted to be given in the record.

said, should be taken to the temple premises, where it should be measured and given. This practice is also worthy of note. In speaking of the Vishṇu temple of Pavitramāṇikkaviṇṇagar-Emberumān, the inscription uses the word *mēṟkōyil*. It may be stated that the temple of Vishṇu is invariably situated to the west of the village, while that of Śiva is on the eastern side. On this account, the former appears to have been called *mēṟkōyil*, which term may be taken to indicate the relative position of both the Śiva and Vishṇu temples, one being on the eastern side and the other to the west of it. In referring to a Śiva temple at Conjeevaram, *Mattavilāsa-Prahasana* uses the word *pūrvasthalī*.[1]

Among the boundaries, figure Iḍaikkōḍu and a river. The former may be identified with Itakkoṭṭuchcheri, a hamlet of Aḻagiyapāṇḍiyapuram and the latter is probably Paḻaiyāṟu which flows past the same village.

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [||*] கொல்லந் தோன்றி இருநூற்றுத் தொண்ணூற்றொன்ப-
தாமாண்டு மிதுனத்தில் வியா[ழன்*] நின்ற ஆண்டு நாஞ்சிநாட்டதிய-
னூரா[ன*] அழகியபாண்டி[யபுரத்]து நகரத்தோம் இந்நகரத்து தி-
ருமெற்கொயில் பவி-

2. த்ரமாணிக்க விண்ணகரெம்பெருமானுக்கு இந்நகரதோம் சந்திராதித்யவ-
ரை செல்வுதாக[2] நிர்வார்த்துக் குடுத்த நிலமாவது [||*] இந்நகரத்து-
ப் புறவிளாகந் தூவச்செய்யும் கொன்கேரளன் திருத்துக்கும் இந்நில-
த்துக்கும் பெருநான்கெல்லை கிழ்மெல்லை இடைக்கொ-

3. ட்டில்நின்று அணைக்கு பொகிற வழிக்கும் படாபாறைக்கு மெற்கு-
ம் தென்னெல்லை அய்யன்கொயிலுக்குஞ் சாலார்விளாகத்தில்நின்-
று இறங்குகிற ஆற்றுக்கும் படாபாறைக்கு[ம்*] வடக்கும் [|*] ஆற்-
றுக்கு கிழக்கும் [|*] வடவெல்லை ஆற்றுக்கு தெற்கும் [|*] இவ்விசை-
ந்த பெருநான்கெல்லைக்குட்பட்ட-

4. தூவச்செய்யுந் திருத்தில் பள்ளக்காலால் நீர்பாயு[ம்*] நிலமு முட்படக்
குடுத்த நிலம் பதின்முன்று மாவுக்கும் ஊற்காலால் மாத்தால் லெழுக-
லநெல்லும் காற்காசுங் கடமை யிறுப்பாகை இந்நகரத்துக் கொன்கெ-
ரளனுக்கு இந்நிலம் அட்டில்ப்பெற்றுக் காராண்மையாக நீரொடுமட்-

5. டிக் குடுத்தொம் அழகியபாண்டியபுரத்து நகரத்தொம் கொன்கொளனு-
க்கு [||*] இக்கடமை கொயிலி லிட்டளந்து குடுப்பது [||*]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the year two hundred and ninty-nine after Kollam had appeared, *i. e.* the year (*when*) Jupiter stood in Mithuna, we, the citizens of Adiyaṇūṟ *alias* Aḻagiyapāṇḍiyapuram in Nāñji-nāḍu, gave the following lands, with libation of water, to (*i. e. in favour of*) the sacred western (*i. e.* Vishṇu) temple of Pavitramāṇikkaviṇṇagar-Emberumāṉ of this city, so that they may last as long as the moon and the sun endure. The four great boundaries of (*the land called*) Tūvachchey in the Puṟavilāgam of this city, the land reclaimed by Kōṉ Kēraḷaṉ and of this land, are (*as follows*):—

1 Trivandrum Sanskrit Series edition p. 29.

2 Read செல்வதாக.

The eastern boundary is to the west of the path leading from Iḍaikkōḍu to the dam,[1] and (*of the rock known as*) Paḍāppāṟai. The southern boundary is to the north of the temple of Ayyaṉ, the river flowing down from Śālār-viḷāgam and (*the rock called*) Paḍāppāṟai. (*The western boundry is*) to the east of the river. And the northern boundary is to the south of the (*same*) river.

We, the citizens of Aḻagiyapāṇḍiyapuram, gave, with libation of water, this land, *viz.* the land called Tūvchchey lying within the above described four great boundaries, inclusive of the field in the reclaimed (*portion*) watered by the paḷḷakkāl and measuring thirteen *mā*,—as an *aṭṭippēṟu-kāṟāṇmai* to Kōṉ Kēraḷaṉ of this city, stipulating that he shall pay, as tax (*kaḍamai*), seven *kalam* of paddy (*as measured*) by the village measure, and a quarter *kāśu*. This tax (*of paddy*) shall be taken to the temple, measured out (there) and given (*to the temple authority*).

No. 19.—Manalikkarai Inscription of Ravikeralavarman of Venadu.

This inscription in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet is said to be engraved on four faces of a rectangular pillar set up near the Āḻvār temple at Maṇalikkarai, a hamlet of Kōdanallūr in the Kalkuḷam Taluk. Appreciable difference is noticeable in the formation of letters, between the first 33 lines and the latter portion of the record on the second face extending from line 34 to line 55. The shape of letters in the subsequent portion does not vary much. It may be that the latter portion of the record on the second face of the stone had been incised by a defferent hand and at some interval of time. Whether the marks,— which look like conch, inserted at the end of lines 35 and 99,—were purposely put in to indicate anything, it is not possible to say. Perhaps they show that the portion was engraved later. If this is the case, the first mark should have been put in at the end of line 33 or the beginning of line 34 where, however, there is no space for it. The letters are incised deep and clear. The Grantha letters that occur in the inscription are *svasti śrī* and *Vṛśchi* in line 1, *śrī* in line 7, *sabhai* in lines 10, 14, 39 and 43 and *ndradhāra* in line 89.

The language of the inscription is the western dialect of Tamiḻ, quite similar to that employed in the Mitrānandapuram copper-plate edited above. The following forms of words are worthy of note:—

தண்டின்ற for தண்டுகின்ற; வாண்ணருளின்ற for வாழ்ந்தருளுகின்ற; கல்ப்பிச்சு for கற்பித்து; வாஞ்ஞு for வாங்கு; வைச்சு for வைத்து; ஒள்ள for உள்ள; கொடுப்பிது for கொடுப்பது; கழிவிது for கழிவது; ஒழிஞ்ஞு for ஒழிந்து; செலவின்னு for செலவுக்கு, மாசெனத்தின்னு for மஹாஜநத்துக்கு; பறஞ்ஞு for சொல்லி; தோன்றுகில் and அழிவொண்டாகில் for தோன்றினால் and அழிவுண்டானால்; ஸுவாமி and ஸபையார் for சுவாமி and சபையார்; and எழுதின்றவரள் for எழுதுகின்றவர்கள்.

The inscription belongs to the time of the Vēṇāḍu king the Vīra-Ravikēraḷavarman, and is dated in the Kollom year 410 + 1 (= A. D. 1236), the month Mēsha

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1 There is a dam here known as Pāṇḍiyaṉ-aṇai.

and the solar day 27th, expired, when Jupiter was in Vṛiśchika." M. R. Ry. Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai, to whom I sent the details for ascertaining the correct English equivalent, notes:—"On Monday 21st April A. D. 1236 =Kollam 411, Jupiter's mean longitude was 234·84 degrees which being between 216 (end of Tulā) and 240 (end of Vṛiśchika) is correctly located in Vṛiśchika-rāśi. Further verification is not possible owing to want of *tithi*, *nakshatra* or week-day. For instance 27 சென்றநாள் may mean 28th day or 27th day. The day I have given above was the 28th of Mēsha month". The exact period of rule of this king and the events of his time have yet to be made out. But this record, which is expressly stated to have been drawn up on the lines of the royal order (*tirumugam*), is a very important one and shows the consideration and care which the king had bestowed on the internal administration of his country. The record is not couched in an unambiguous language but the sense is more or less clear.

The object of the inscription is to fix the amount of taxes to be paid on the lands in the possession of the members of the assembly and the *ūrār* of Kōdanallūr. This it does, and adds that during droughts, a reduced assessment, amounting to a fifth only, of the usual rates must be collected; and even from this quantity, 73 *paṟai* of paddy, required for the expenses of *Baṭṭavṛitti* and *Ōṇam*, had to be deducted and the balance realised as an additional charge on the lands which had borne crop in the season. *Arakkal* and *śāṟal*, mentioned in the inscription, refer evidently to the two instalments in which the annual land assessment appears to have been paid. They seem to have been fixed with reference to the harvest and were perhaps paid in Kumbham and Kanni as at present. The term *taravu* is used in the inscription first in the sense of 'a receipt' (l. 37) and secondly to denote 'a document' (l. 22). It corresponds to the term *ṭiṭṭu* of other records. *Varippuḷḷi*, *variyil-puḷḷi*, or *variyum-puḷḷi* means 'an accountant or a collector of rent or tax'; and corresponds to the modern terms Kaṇakkuppuḷḷi or Kaṇakkuppiḷḷai. *Kalachchai* is a term similar to *nāḷichchai* and *paṟachchai*, very often met with in the records of this country: it means a quantity measured by the *kalam*.

The last words of the inscription state that this stone document was written on the lines chalked out in the *tirumugam* i. e. the royal order. And from lines 6 to 14, we gather that the inscription was the direct result of a conference held among the officers (*adikāriga!*) of the Vēṇāḍu king Vīra-Ravikēraḷavarman, the members of the village assembly (*sabhaiyār*) and the *ūrār* of Kōdainallūr and a certain Kaṇḍaṉ Tiruvikkiramaṉ of Marudagachchēri, entrusted with the duty of demanding the *kaḍamai* of the same village. As such, the general lines on which the inscription was drawn up should have been indicated in the king's communication. It has been generally taken that *sabhai* was the name by which the village assembly of a Brahmanical village was called; and that *ūrār* denoted the assembly of a Non-Brahmanical village. We cannot be certain if there were villages which were exclusively Brahmanical and others that were exclusively Non-Brahmanical. At any rate, it is very likely that in most villages both classes were represented. If it is correct to take that *sabhai* means the assembly of a Brahmanical village and that *ūrār* denotes a non-Brahmanical assembly, or the assembly of a Non-Brahmanical village, it may be said that in big villages which counted among their inhabitants men of all classes, there should have been both the assemblies viz. the

sabhaiyār and the *ūrār*. Perhaps, Kōdanallūr was one such because it contained both the *sabhaiyār* and the *ūrār*. It would, however, be more correct to distinguish the two bodies by the functions they discharged,— whatever might have been their constitution. From the qualifications required for membership in the *sabhai*, it can be inferred that the members of that assembly were mostly Brahmins.[1]

From the phrase *kaḍamai-taṇḍiṉṟa*, which occurs in line 11, it is plain that *kaḍamai* stands for assessments on lands. It was in all likelihood a payment in kind rendered by the farmer to the State. *Taṇḍu* means 'to ask, demand or collect'; and the nouns derived from it are *taṇḍal* (the act of demanding) and *taṇḍalkāraṉ* (the person that demands). These terms are still used in revenue phraseology. *Kaḍamai* has to be distinguished from *kārāṇmai* which means the proprietor's share of an estate and corresponds to 'rent'. When combined with the verb *'śey'* the word has its primary significance of 'right of owning lands, leasing them out to tenants for cultivation and deriving a share of the yield'. The term *mērpādi* is sometimes employed to denote 'rent or owner's share of the produce'. It may now be pointed out that besides meaning 'the right of ownership of lands with its attendant duties' and 'the rent of lands', the word *kārāṇmai* is sometimes so used as to denote the office and duties of collecting rents. If the estate had belonged to Government, there would be an officer appointed, as is the case in our record, to demand the *kaḍamai i. e.* assessments as they fell due; and if the estate is one owned by a private individual, the latter would realise the rent himself or through his agents. It is worth noting that an unpublished copper-plate inscription mentions a number of such officers, each one of whom perhaps appointed in respect of the lands of a particular village. In certain grants of lands made to temples, it is specifically stated that the donor reserved to himself and his lawful successors or other stated persons and their descendants the *kārāṇmai i. e.* 'the right of cultivation and that he or they should, with the *mērpādi i. e.* the rent accruing from the land, maintain the gift.

Kārāṇmai and *kaḍamai* are clearly distinguished in inscriptions. While the former represents, as explained above, the rent, the latter denotes the assessment proper on lands.

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] வருஷிகத்தில்
2. வியாழ நின்ற யாண்டு
3. கொல்லம் நானூற்று ஒரு-
4. பதாமாண்டைக் கெதிராமா-
5. ண்டு மெடஞாயிறு உயஎ சென்-
6. ற நாள் வெளுடு வாண்ணாருளி-
7. ன்ற ஸ்ரீ வீர இரவிகேரள-
8. வர்ம்ம திருவடிக்கமை-

1 Vide the Uttaramallūr inscriptions of Parāntaka I published in the Director-General's Annual for 1904-5. Here are detailed the qualifications and disqualifications of members and voters, the mode of election, and the committees into which the *sabhai* was divided.

9. ந்த அதிகாரிகளும் கோதைந-
10. ல்லூர் ஸபையாரும் ஊர்-
11. ராரும் ஷடியூர்க் கடமை தண்டின்-
12. ற மருதகச்சேரிக் கண்டந் தி-
13. ருவிக்கிரமனும் கூடி
14. ப்பறஞ்ஞு ஸபையடவி-
15. ல் இறைவரி நிலம் ஈய௱-
16. த்தின்மேலும் அரக்கல்
17. கலச்சை ஈவு நெல் ௰௱சச-
18. வயு சாரல் கடமைக்குர-
19. வு கலச்ச எாஉ௰நி இயு மா-
20. க ஆண்டுவரை கடமைக்கு க-
21. லச்சை ஈவு நெல் ௰எ௱கூ௸-
22. யும் ஊரடவு இறைநிலம்
23. நி௰நி௱த்தின் மேலும் அர-

Second face.

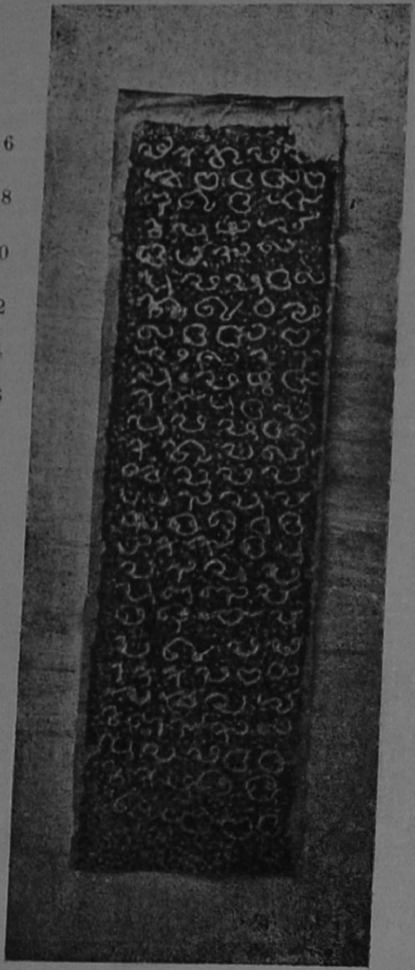
24. க்கல் கடமைக்கு கலச்சை ஈவு-
25. நெல் எ௱௨அஉயும் சாரல்கு
26. கலச்சை ஈவு நெல் எ௱௸அ
27. இயனுமாக ஆண்டுவரை கடமை
28. க்கு கலச்சை ஈவு நெல் ௸எ
29. கூ௸௭எச்சயுமாக இறுக்கு-
30. மாறும் கடமை அளந்நா-
31. ல் வரிபுள்ளி பாஞ்ஞு தி-
32. ருமாறும் கரணமெழுதின்ற-
33. வரள் கைய்யால்த் திரதரவு ஒ-
34. ழியுமாறுங் கல்ப்பிச்சோம் [||*] க-
35. டமைக்கு நெல்லளந்நா-
36. ல் வரியில்ப்புள்ளி வாஞ்ஞு
37. துவாமி கையால் தரவு கொள்க [||*] ஒழிவி-
38. து கடமை சென்று செல்லாத்ததின்னு
39. ஆண்டுவரையும் ஸபையாரையும்
40. ஊராரையும் வளிச்சு அஞ்சாலி
41. எழுதிப்பிடிப்பிச்சு கடமை
42. யுங் கொண்டு வருவிது [||*] கரியோள்-
43. ள காலத்து ஸபையாரையும் ஊரா-
44. ரும் பற்றுகண்டு அஞ்சொன்றி-
45. னால் ஒண்டாகின்ற முதலுங்கூட்-
46. டி விளவொள்ள நிலத்தின் மெல்
47. கடமை கொடுப்பிது [||*] கரிஞ்ஞு கட-
48. மை பற்று என்று தொன்றுகில் த-
49. பையாரு மூராருந் துவாமியொடு
50. சொன்னால் துவாமி பற்றுகண்டு அ-
51. ஞ்சொன்று கொள்விது [||*] இம்முதலி-
52. ல் பட்டவிருத்தி ஓணச்செலவின்-
53. னு உ எாகூ ற மும் அஞ்சொன்றில் க-

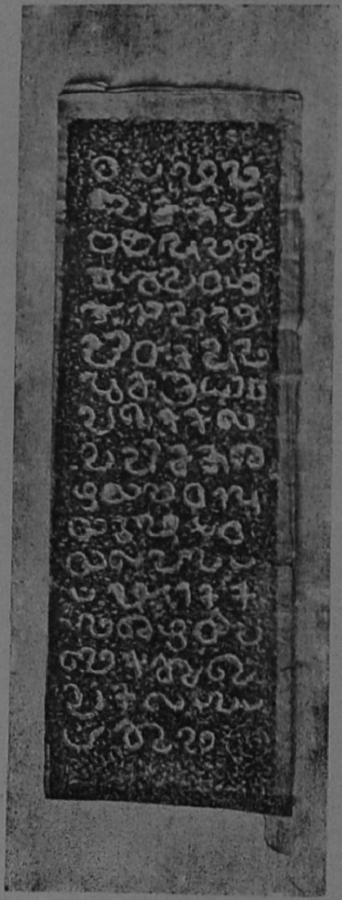
No. 19. MANALIKKARAI INSCRIPTION OF RAVIKERALAVARMAN.

V. Subrahmanya Aiyer.

No. 19. MANALIKKARAI INSCRIPTION OF RAVIKERALAVARMAN.

56 58 60 62 64 66 68 70 72 74 76 78 80 82





84 86 88 90 92 94 96 98

54. ழிவிது [॥*] ஷடி[1] நிலமொழிஞ்ஞு த-
55. வையார்க்கும் ஊரார்க்கும்

Third face.

56. மிக்கும்[மா]-
57. செனத்தின்-
58. ஞு எத்தொ-
59. ரு அழிவொ-
60. ணாகில்
61. அம்முதல்-
62. கு இற நி-
63. லத்தின்-
64. மெல் வரி-
65. யு மெழுதி-
66. க் கொடுத்து
67. அம்முதல்-
68. க்கு பலி-
69. சையும் பா-
70. ட்டரியு மொ-
71. ழிஞ்ஞு தண்-
72. டிக்கொண்டு
73. வரியும்
74. புள்ளி வா-
75. ஞ்ஞுபொலி-
76. து [॥*] இம்மா-
77. ர்க்கமன்றி-
78. யெ செய்வொ-
79. ருளராகில்
80. அய்மத்தி-
81. ரு கழஞ்(ஞு)-
82. ஞு பொன் த-

Fourth face.

83. ண்டமும்
84. வைச்சு பி-
85. ன்னையும் இ-
86. ச்செய்ததெ
87. காரியமா-
88. விதாகவும் [॥*]
89. ஆசந்த்ரயார-
90. வல்க் கல்-
91. ப்பிச்சு எ-
92. ழுதிய தாவு [॥*]
93. திருமுகத்-
94. தில்ப் பட்-
95. ட மார்க்க-
96. மெ எழுதிய-
97. மைக்கு இ-
98. து கல்வெட்-
99. டாகும்

1 This is expressed by a symbol.

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the year when Jupiter stood in Vṛiśchika, on the 27th day, expired, in the month of Mēsha of the year opposite to the Kollam year four hundred and ten, the officers of the glorious and powerful Ravikēraḷavarman-Tiruvaḍi the ruler of Vēṇāḍu, (*the members of*) the assembly and the *ūrār* of the village of Kōdanallūr and Kaṇḍaṉ Tiruvikkiramaṉ of Marudakachchēri (*whose duty was*) to demand the assessment of the said village, having conferred together, ordered (thus):—

For the taxable lands in the possession of the (*members of the*) assembly, (having a sowing capacity of) . . . (*paṟai*) of seed, the quantity of paddy to be given as assessment for *arakkal* is . . . and the quantity to be given as assessment for *śāral* is . . . (*thus*) for the whole year, the quantity of paddy to be given as assessment is . . .

For the taxable lands in the possession of the village, (*having a sowing capacity*) of . . . (*paṟai*) of seed, the quantity of paddy to be given as assessment for *arakkal* is . . . ; and the quantity of paddy to be given as assessment for *śāral* is . . . ; (*thus*) for the whole year the quantity of paddy to be given as *kaḍamai* is . . . It was settled that the taxes shall be paid in the above said manner; that, when the assessment is measured, the accountant shall receive it; and that receipt (*tīrataravu*) acquitting the payment shall be taken from the hands of those who write documents.

When paddy is measured as assessment, *taravu* shall be obtained from the hands of the *svāmi* who receives revenue demands. For the rest (*of the lands*) for which assessment had been paid (*partially*) or for which it had not been paid, the members of the assembly and the village shall be held responsible by a written agreement for realising assessment (*later on*). During the time when there is *kari* (i. e. *famine*), the actual yield shall be ascertained from the members of the assembly and the *ūr*, and an additional amount of one-fifth (*of the kaḍamai*) shall be paid on the lands which had borne crop. If it appear that the yield had failed and that it was insufficient for paying the assessment and if the members of the assembly and the *ūr* represent (*the same*) to the *svāmi*, the *svāmi* shall see the yield (*paṟṟu*) and take (*only*) one fifth. From this amount of one-fifth, 73 *paṟai* of paddy (*required*) for the expenses of *Bhaṭṭa-vṛitti* and *Ōṇam*, shall be deducted. If any damage is caused to the members of the assembly, the *ūr* and other *mahājanas*, (*in respect of other*) lands than the above mentioned ones, the amount (*due thereon*) shall be entered against the taxable lands and the accountant shall be authorised to demand and receive (*the dues only*) leaving off the interest and *pāṭṭari* on it. Any one acting contrary to this settlement shall have to deposit (i. e. shall be liable to the payment of) a fine of fifty-two *kaḻañju* of gold and shall have also to continue to act in the prescribed way. This written document (*taravu*) was ordered (*to be in force*) as long as the moon and the sun endure: and this stone edict was written in accordance with the method specified in the royal order (*tirumugam*).

No. 20. PANNIPPAKKAM INSCRIPTION.

K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer.

No. 20.—An archaic inscription in the Pannippakkam temple.

The subjoined inscription is reported to be engraved on a pillar set up in the Pannippâkkam Śiva temple at Kōdainallūr near Maṇalikkarai. It is written in archaic Tamiḻ characters: the language is also Tamiḻ. It is not dated; neither does it mention any king. Judging from the palæography of the record, it may be assigned to the beginning of the 9th century A. D. There are no top strokes for the letters *ka*, *cha*, *ta*, *ra*, *na*; the cross portion of *ka* is so slight that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish this letter from *ra*. The loops of *ṇa* and *ṉa* are developed, and the formation of *ṟa*, *ṟu*, *na*, *va*, *ṅa*, *tu*, and the vowel *ū* is characteristically old. The only Grantha letters used in the inscription are *svasti śrī* in line 1, *mahādēva* in line 2f and *kshi* in the last line.

The inscription registers a gift of twenty old *kāśu* for maintaining a perpetual lamp in the temple of Mahādēva at Tiruppaṉaikuḷam. While the direct management of the gift was left in the hands of the *ūrār*[1] of the village and the *dēvakarmis*, the members of the village assembly (*sabhaiyār*) of Brahmamaṅgalam and the *ūrār* of Pāgūr and Kūḻaikkōḍu were required to supervise and protect it. Of the places mentioned in the record, Kūḻaikkōḍu may be identified with Kuḻikkōḍu, one of the villages in the Kalkuḷam Taluk, which is reported to contain a Bhagavatī temple. Brahmamaṅgalam is perhaps the modern Brahmapuram in the same Taluk; and Tiruppaṉaikuḷam must be that part of Maṇalikkarai where the Śiva temple is situated. Pāgūrkōṇam is still a hamlet of Kōdanallūr.

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [||*] திருப்ப-
2. [ணை]குளத்து மஹா-
3. தேவர்க்கு நொந்தாவி-
4. ளக்கினுக்கு கச்செட்-
5. டி விகளங்கன் இவ்-
6. வூர் ஊரார் கையிற் [கு]-
7. டுத்த பழங்கா[சு]
8. இருபது நிலைவிள-
9. க்கு ஒன்று [||*] இக்காசு இ-
10. ருபது நாழிநெய்
11. பொலி கொள்வதா-
12. கப் பொலிக்குக் கு-
13. டுத்துப் பொலி
14. நெய் கொண்டு [ஊரு]-
15. ம் தேவகருமிகளா[2]-
16. ய் நிற்பாரும் எரிப்பி-
17. ப்பது [||*] இது செல-

1 On *sabhaiyār* and *ūrār*, see above, p. 60f.

2 Read தேவகன்மி.

18. வு ஆராய்ந்து[1] இக்காசு பி-
19. ரமமங்கலத்துச்
20. சவையாரும் பாகூரு-
21. ங் கூழைக்கொட்டு [ஆ]ரா-
22. ருங் கைகாவலாய் பு-
23. ற நின்று ரக்ஷிப்பது[॥*]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! For (*burning*) a perpetual lamp in (*the temple of*) Mahādēva at Tiruppaṇaikuḷam, Kachchēṭṭi Vikaḷaṅkaṉ gave in the hands of the *ūrār* of this village twenty old *kāśu* and one lamp-stand. The (*members of the*) *ūr* and those that stand as *dēvakanmis* (*i. e. temple managers*) shall lend out for interest these twenty *kāśu* on condition of receiving good ghee as interest and shall burn (*the lamp*) with this interest of ghee. The members of the assembly of Brahmamaṅgalam and the *ūrār* of Pāgūr and Kūḻaikkōḍu shall scrutinise this payment and protect these twenty *kāśu*, guarding them from outside.

No. 21.—Pannippakkam inscription of Kollam 735.

This inscription is reported to be engraved on the granite pedestal of Nandikēśvara in the temple of Mahādēva at Paṉṉippākkam in the Kalkuḷam Taluk. It is dated in Kollam 735 (=A. D. 1559), and registers a gift of land made to a certain Ayyikkuṭṭi for playing on the flute in the temple. References to flute (*kuḻal*) in inscriptions are very rare.

At my request, M. R. Ry. Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai had been kind enough to verify the date. He notes:—Kollam 735, Kārttigai, 16 expired, Wednesday, Rōhiṇi, ba 2=Wednesday 15th November A. D. 1559: On this day Rōhiṇi ended at ·72 of day (=43 *ghaṭikas* after mean sunrise); while *bahuḷa* 1 began at ·09 of day ($5\frac{1}{2}$ *ghaṭikas* after mean sunrise). The day could be called either *Śukla* 15, which ended at ·09, or *bahuḷa* 1, which began at the same moment, but it could not be called *bahuḷa* 2 which, if the reading is quite clear,[2] must be an error for ba. 1. The month day was 16 Kārttigai and the 'expired' does not add a day to 16, as it does in other cases.

Text.

1. ஹரி: கொல்லம் ௭௱௩௰௫ கா-
2. த்திகை மாதம் ௰௬ சென்ற பு-

---

1 ய் is written below the line.

2 The reading of வி of விதிகை is by no means certain. After அமர there are what look like a ப and another corrected or cancelled syllable: But there is no mistaking the syllables திகையும் which follow. The only prefixes that are admissible in the case are வி or வ்ரு and the former has been adopted. Another possible reading, if we leave off the cancelled or corrected letter, is அமாபாதிகையும்; but this does not help us over the difficulty for the day must be either വെണ്ണാഴ്ചെ or ബുധാഴ്ചെ according to calculation.

3. தனுட்சையும் உரோகணியும்
4. அமரப[க்ஷ*] [த்வி]திகையும் இந்நாளால்
5. நயினார் திருப்பன்றிப்பாகத்து மா-
6. தெவர்[க்கு] மூன்று நெரமும் சன்னிதியில்
7. குழல் வாசிக்க நயினான் அழக-
8. ன் அய்யிக்குட்டிக்கு குடுத்த நிலம்
9. வண்ணான்குளத்தின் கீழ[ழ*] மந்தாரத்தடி
10. தடி[1] க ஐ சமா[2]யும் பெருங்குளத்தாலும் வ-
11. ள்ளி ஆற்றிலும் நிருண்டு நெல்விளையும்
12. குசித்தியறை தடி க ஐ சமா[2][வு]ம் ஆக தடி[1] உ ஞல் ஐ அ
13. மாயும் புல்லுவிளை துண்டம் இரண்டும்

Translation.

Hari! On this day, (*i. e.*) the 16th, expired, of the month of Kārttikai of the Kollam year 735 which corresponded to a Wednesday, the Rōhiṇī (*Nakshatra*) and the second of the dark-fortnight, the (*following*) lands were given to Nayiṉār Aḷagaṉ Ayyikkuṭṭi for playing on the flute, thrice daily, in front of the god Mahādēva of Tiruppaṉṉippākam:—

4 *mā* of land (*comprised in*) 1 *taḍi* in (*the field called*) Mandārattaḍi, fed by the tank Vaṇṇāṉkuḷam, and 4 *mā* of land (*comprised in*) 1 *taḍi* in the paddy-growing field of Kuśittiyaṟai, fed by the water of the Peruṅguḷam tank and the Vaḷḷiyāṟu river,—in all 8 *mā* of land (*comprised in*) 2 *taḍi*,—together with two pieces of grass-growing land.

No. 22.—Suchindram inscription of Vira-Pandya: regnal year 7.

This inscription, which is found on the rock near the Kailāsa shrine in the Śiva temple at Suchīndram, is engraved in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet with a Sanskrit verse in Grantha characters at the commencement. The language is Tamiḻ. It is dated in the seventh year of the reign of the early Pāṇḍya sovereign Vīra-Pāṇḍya, who took the head of the Chōḷa king. The object of the inscription is to register a gift of land made by the chief Teṉṉavaṉ Aṇukkappallavaraiyaṉ *alias* Vīranārāyaṇaṉ of Uṟappaṉūr in Nāṭṭāṟṟupuram, to the temple of Paramēśvara at Tiruchchivīndiram in Nāñji-nāḍu, for burning a sacred lamp, for laying out a flower-garden and supplying garlands and vegetables.

Vīra-Pāṇḍya of the subjoined record is in all probability a contemporary of Sundara-Chōḷa Parāntaka II and of his son Āditya II *alias* Karikāla, who flourished in the third quarter of the 10th century A. D.[3] Of Āditya Karikāla, the large Leyden plates report that he, the light of the family of Manu, while yet a boy,

1 தடி is expressed by a symbol.

2 மா is denoted by a symbol.

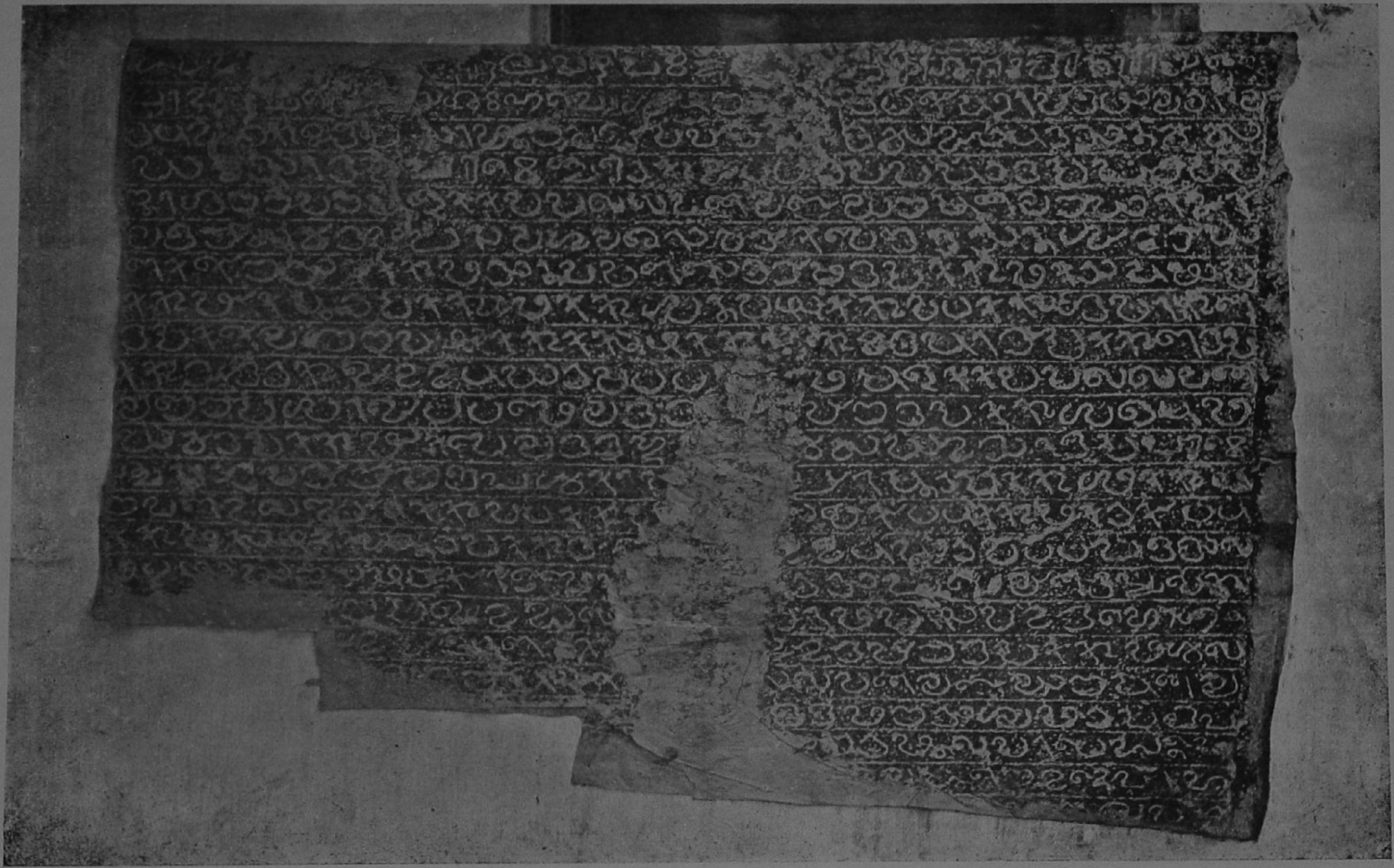
3 Sketches of Ancient Dekhan p. 240f.

played sportively in battle with Vīra-Pāṇḍya, as a lion's cub with a large elephant, wild with passion and confident of his strength.[1] And the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates add that he killed the Pāṇḍya king in battle, and having deposited in his town the lofty pillar of victory (viz) the head of the Pāṇḍya, he disappeared from this world with a desire to see heaven.[2] The battle of Chēvūr referred to in the Leyden grant must be taken to have been fought by Parāntaka II himself, because Āditya was then only a boy; and the statement of the plates shows that Vīra-Pāṇḍya was not killed on this occasion. In this connection, it is also worth noting that Sundara-Chōḷa's stone records found in the Tanjore district state that he drove the Pāṇḍya king into the forest.[3] The Kanyākumāri inscription also reports that the Pāṇḍya contemporary of Sundara-Chōḷa, contemplating on the prosperity of the Chōḷas, sheltered himself in forest.[4] It is not unlikely that in the sanguinary battle of Chēvūr the opponent of Sundara-Chōḷa was this Vīra-Pāṇḍya. I have elsewhere indicated that much time could not have lapsed between the demise of Parāntaka I, which took place in about A. D. 953, and the accession of Sundara-Chōḷa; that the latter event should be placed in the same year, perhaps after a few months when Gaṇḍarāditya and Ariñjaya should have ruled over the Chōḷa dominion in succession; that Sundara-Chōḷa was the only Rājakēsari in the interval between Parāntaka I and Rājarāja I, that had had to contend against the Pāṇḍyas; and as such the epigraphs of Madiraikoṇḍa Rājakēsarivarman, ranging in date up to the 17th year of reign should be correctly ascribed to Sundara-Chōḷa. My surmise that Sundara-Chōḷa must have been a Rājakēsari has been confirmed by the newly discovered Aṇbil plates. It has also been shown that Madhurāntakan Uttama-Chōḷa and Āditya II *alias* Karikāla reigned together after Sundara-Chōḷa, as the title Parakēsarivarman assumed by both clearly indicates. The accession of Uttama-Chōḷa being fixed at A. D. 969-70, the period of rule of Sundara-Chōḷa, which extended to 17 years before that date, comes to 953-970. Since the title 'who drove the Pāṇḍya into the forest' occurs in the 4th year inscription of Sundara-Chōḷa, his encounter with the Pāṇḍyas must have happened in or prior to A. D. 957 and if future researches prove the correctness of the identification of Sundara-Chōḷa's Pāṇḍya contemporary with Vīra-Pāṇḍya, the latter's commencement of rule may be taken to A. D. 957. In all likelihood, Vīra-Pāṇḍya must have succeeded Rājasimha. In this connection, it is worth noting that in an unpublished inscription of Tirupuḍaimarudūr,[5] dated in the 2 + 18th year of the reign of Śaḍaiyamāṛan, the title by which Rājasimha appears to have been known, reference is made to Vīra-Pāṇḍya, who must be none other than his son.

The other name Araiyan-Vīranārāyaṇaṇ, borne by the chief mentioned in the subjoined recod, shows that Vīra-Pāṇḍya had the surname Vīranārāyaṇa. This fact is also of importance as it indicates that he must have been so called after his grandfather Parāntaka-Vīranārāyaṇa-Śaḍaiyaṇ.

1 *Archæological Survey of Southern India*, Vol. IV. p. 217.
2 Verses 67 and 68. *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III. Part III, p. 420.
3 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XII. pp. 121 ff.
4 See below No. 34.
5 Madras Epigraphist's collection for 1905, No. 128.

No. 22. SUCHINDIRAM INSCRIPTION OF VĪRA-PĀṆḌYA: REGNAL YEAR 4+3.



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The place names mentioned in the inscription are Nāñji-nāḍu, the ancient territorial division which included in it a number of villages in South Travancore; Tiruchchivīndiram, the ancient name of Suchīndram; Dēvarkuḷam, Vaikunda-puram, Nṛipaśēkharavaḷanallūr, Taṉvaḷanallūr, Ālaṅgāḍu and Kaṟkāḍu, which must all be found in the vicinity of Suchīndram; and Uṟappaṉūr in Nāṭṭāṟṟu-puram. Dēvarkuḷam is a hamlet in Tērūr Pakuthy: Kakkāṭṭūr or Kakkāṭṭuch-chēri is a hamlet in Suchindram Pakuthy.

Nāṭṭāṟṟuppōkku occurs in an inscription of Tirukkuruṅguḍi where it is said that it was a *brahmadēya*. It is not known if the Nāṭṭāṟṟupuram of our inscription is identical with or different from Nāṭṭāṟṟuppōkku.

Text.

1. ஸ்வ [ஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ] [||*] · · க..வர்மண · · · ·
ஸ்ரீகாயஸந்த விரநாராயண:
2. ஸ்ரீராஜாக ஸ(ம்) · · · ய ஸமஹமெ [சோ]ழன் [தலைகொ]ண்ட கொ வீ-
ரபாண்டியற்கு யா-
3. ண்டு நான்கு இதனெதிர் முன்று இவ்வாண்[டு] நாஞ்சிநாட்டுத் திரு-
ச்சி-
4. விந்திரத்து வாஜெஸூரற்கு நாட்டாற்றுப்புறத்து உறப்ப-
5. னூர் தென்னவன் அணுக்கப்பல்லவரையனுயின அரையன் விரநாரா-
6. யணன் [நி]சத[ம்] உரிய்[1] நெய் எரிவதாக வைத்த திருநொந்தாவி-
7. ளக்கொன்றி[னு]க்கும் திருப்பள்ளித்தாமத்துக்கும் கற அமிது-
8. க்குமாக ஆற்றுக்கு மெக்கு பெருவழிக்கு வடக்கு தெவர் –ள-
9. த்துக்கெய் போன வழிக்குக் கிழக்கு [வை]குந்தபுரத்துக் கு ளத்து-
10. க்குத் தெற்கு இந்நடுவிற்பட்ட [நில]ம் அணுக்கப்பல்லவரை-
11. யனென்று பெர் இட்டமைய்த்த [நந்த]வானத்துக் கு வெண்டும்
12. விசத்துக்குமாக வைய்த்த ஸ்ரீ[மி இ]ச்சிவிந்திரத்து வரசெ-
13. ஷரர் தெவதானம் ந்ருபசெக[ரவளநல்லூ]ர் ஆற்றுக்கு மெக்கு [தெ]-
14. ன்வளநல்லூர்க்கு வடக்கும் . . . . . லங்காட்டுக்கும் கற்காட்டு-
15. க்கும் கிழக்கு ஆற்றுக்கு சத் [தெற்கு[||*] இ]ந்நடுவிற்பட்ட உண்ணில-
16. [ம் ஒ]ழிவின்றி முன் காராண்மை . . . . . . [2][மா]ற்றி உடையாரை
ஸ்ரீவஹ்நச-
17. . . . . . . பொது இந்நிலத் . . . . . . ரம் வழி வந்த ஹொறம்
18. . . . . . . [நொந்தாவி]ளக்கு . . . . . . நந்தவானத்துக்கும் செல்
19. . . . .[3] த்தென் அணுக் . . .[4] ல்லவரையனுயின அ-
ரைய-
20. . . . .[5] ண்ணமன்றியெ மற்று விவ-
21. . . . . ற முலபரடை ஸஹெ-
22. . . . . ஆரெனுந் தெவர் ஐ
23. . . . .

1 Read உரி.

2 This gap may be filled up with the letters உடையாரை மா.

3 This gap can be filled up with the syllables வதாகக்கு.

4 The letters missing here are கப்ப.

5 This gap must have contained the syllables ன் விரநாராயணனென் இவ்வ.

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! Vīranārāyaṇa gave . . . . to (*the temple of*) Śambhu (*i. e. Śiva*) . . . . a sacred lamp.

In this year, (*i. e.*) the third opposite the fourth year of (*the reign of*) king Vīra-Pāṇḍya, who took the head of the Chōla (*sovereign*), Teṉṉavaṉ Aṇukkappallavaraiyaṉ *alias* Araiyaṉ Vīranārāyaṇaṉ of Uṟappaṉūrin Nāṭṭāṟṟuppuram, gave, to (*the temple of*) Parmēśvara (*i. e. Śiva*) at Tiruchchivīndiram (*situated*) in Nāñji-nāḍu, the land,—situated to the west of the river (*flowing through*) Nṛipaśēkharavaḷanallūr which was a *dēvadāna* of (*the temple of*) Paramēśvara of this Śivīndiram, to the north of Teṉvaḷanallūr, to the east of [Ā]laṅgāḍu . . . . and Karkāḍu, and to the south of the river,— for one sacred lamp to be burnt daily with (*one*) *uri* of ghee, for sacred flower-garlands, for vegetable offerings and for the maintenance of the flower-garden named Aṇukkappallavaraiyaṉ which was laid in the land lying within the four (*boundaries*) *viz.* to the west of the river; to the north of the trunk-road; to the east of the path leading to Dēvarkuḷam; and to the south of the Vaikundapuram tank.

(All) this land, lying whithin these (*boundaries*), without the exclusion of *uṇṇilam*, (*had been obtained by paying*) money to, and changing the ownership of, those who previously held the right of *kārāṇmai* . . . . . with the *bhōga* (*i. e. income*) received by way of *karam* for sacred lamps, sacred flower-garden . . . . (by) Teṉ[ṉavaṉ] Aṇukkappallavaraiyaṉ *alias* Araiyaṉ Vīranārāyaṇaṉ. Any one . . . . contrary to the above said manner . . . . the members of the assembly.

No. 23.—Suchindram Inscription of Vira-Pandya: regnal year 19.

This is also an inscription of the same king, found on the wall near the same rock. It is engraved in Tamiḻ characters which, however, appear to be much later than the time to which it relates *i. e.* the reign of Vīra-Pāṇḍya. As it is, the present record is left unfinished and contains some evident misreading of the original in the name Vaṅgaṉṟadēvar occuring in line 4. In the same line, what looks like Śērāntaka may also be read as Śōḷāntaka. In all probability, it is a copy of an earlier document which should have been complete.

The object of the inscription is evidently to register the finding of the assembly of Śuchīndram in an enquiry which they appear to have held in connection with a report made by the officer Śērāntaka Brahmamārāyaṉ that a certain person sold and mortgaged the *dēvadāna* lands for which he had not presumably the right to do. As regards the question of legality of the transaction, involved in the case, it is worth noting that cultivators or managers of *dēvadāna* properties had only the right of enjoyment under stipulated conditions, one of such being the performance of some specified service. From the accusation made by the officer, it is plain that persons who had been assigned *dēvadāna* lands had not the power to alienate their holdings by mortgage or sale.

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[1]In cases of assignments made for specific purposes such as for conducting worship in temples, for supplying music, *etc*., it is said that donees and their descendants must do the service, receiving the income set apart it; that in cases where men possessing the requisite qualifications could not be found among the descendants, competent men must be chosen from among the relations of the unqualified persons to do the service and to receive the remuneration fixed therefor; and failing to get qualified men among such relations, other competent hands must be appointed to do the work.

Text.

1. சொழன் தலைகொண்ட கொ விரபாண்டியற்கு யாண்-
2. டு பதினஞ்சாவதின் எதிர் நாலாவது இவ்வாண்டு நாஞ்சிநாட்டு
3. ப்ரஹ்மதெயம்[2] நாஞ்சிநாட்டு திருச்சிவிந்திர[த்*]து மஹாஸபையொம் அ-
4. திகாரமெலெழுத்து செ[ரா]ந்தகப் பிரம்மாராயன் வங்கன்றதெவர் நிலம் தெ-
5. வர்தானத்தை விலையு மொற்றியும் வைத்தாரென்று சொல்ல கெட்-டென்
6. தெவன் பட்டாங்கு சொல்லுகவென்று வினவ ஸபையொம் இருந்து விலையு[ம்*] ஒற்றி-
7. யுங் கொண்டாரை

Translation.

This is the authorised writing of the great assembly of the *brhmadēya* of Nāñjināṭṭu-Tiruchchivīndiram in Nāñji-nāḍu, made in this year (*i. e.*) the fourth opposite to the fifteenth year of (*the reign of*) king Vīra-Pāṇḍya, who took the head of the Chōḷa (king).

Śērāntaka Brahmamārāyaṉ having reported, as heard by him, that Vaṅgaṉṟadēvar sold and mortgaged *dēvadāna* lands and Dēvaṉ having been asked to narrate (*the facts*) as they actually occurred, we, the members of the assembly, being present . . . . those who had purchased or obtained on mortgage.

No. 24.—Suchindram Inscription of Vira-Pandya: regnal year 14.

This is also an inscription of the early Pāṇḍya king Vīra-Pāṇḍya who took the head of the Chōḷa sovereign. It is engraved in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters on the rock near the Kailāsa shrine in the Śiva temple at Suchīndram and is dated in the year opposite to the thirteenth of his reign. It registers a grant of money *viz*. 30

1 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. Part III, pp. 256-279, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XI. pp. 184ff and *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan* p. 334.

2 Read ப்ரஹ்மதெயத்து.

īḻakkāśu by the chief Śērantaka Pallavaraiyaṉ *alias* Māṟaṉāchchaṉ[1] of Poḻiyūr in Poḻiyūr-nāḍu in order to maintain a perpetual light near the god, in the central shrine of the Śiva temple at Suchīndram. It is interesting to note that the money was paid into the hands of the members of the village assembly and that they bound themselves to invest it on land, get the income arising therefrom by way of interest, and to supply the necessary articles viz. ghee, wick etc. for burning the lamp, the capital remaining always undisturbed. The title Śērāntaka conferred on the chief might have been derived from one of the surnames of the king.

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [||*] சொழன்றலைகொண்ட கோ விரபாண்டியற்கு யாண்டு பதின்-
2. முன்றாம் யாண்டின் எதிராமாண்டு நாஞ்சிநாட்டு ப்ரஹ்மதேயம் தி-
3. ருச்சிவிந்திரத்து படாரற்கு பொழியூர்நாட்டுப் பொழியூர்[ச் செ-
4. ராந்தகப் பல்லவரையனான மாறணுச்சன் இத்தெவர் திருவுண்ணாழி-
5. கையில் மெ[டை]மரஹத்தில் [நின்]று இவ்வாண்டு நாள் அறுநூற்று
6. ஐம்பத்து நாலு முதல் அந்த்ராதித்தவல்[2] இரவும் பகலும் நி-
7. யதம் உரிய் நெய்யால் முட்டாமெய் எரிவதாக வைச்ச திருநொ-
8. ந்தாவிளக்கு ஒன்று நிறை துலாம் [||*] இதற்கு வைச்ச நெய் [உரி]-
9. யு அந்த்ராதித்தவற் முட்டாமெய் [அ]ட்டுவதாக இவ்வூர் ஸபையொ-
10. யார்வசம் ஸபைமெலிட்டு ஸபைப் பொலியூட்டு அட்டுவதா-
11. [க]ப் பொலிக்கு முதலாக வைச்ச ஈழக்காசு முப்பது [||*] இம்முப்-
12. பதுங் கொண்டு இக்காசு பூமி[மெ]லி டுப் பூமிப் பொலி[யூ]
13. ட்டு அட்டுவொமாயினோம் [ஸபையொ]மொழ [||*] இவ்விளக்கு-
14. க் [தி]ரியும் நிலத்துக்கு . . . . . .[3] இட்டகாசு ஒன்று [||*] இவ்-
15. விளக்கு அந்த்ராதித்தவல் முட . . . .[4] பகலைக்குந் தி-
16. [ரி] இருவதா[க] இவ்வூர் வண் . . . . யடுத்த
17. காசு ஒன்று [||*] இவ்விளக்கு . . . . இ-
18. து ரக்ஷித்தாருடைய ஸ்ரீபா . . . .[5]

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the year opposite to the thirteenth year of (*the reign of*) king Vīra-Pāṇḍya, who took the head of the Chōḻa (*sovereign*), Śērāntaka-Pallavaraiyaṉ *alias* Māṟaṉāchchaṉ of Poḻiyūr in Poḻiyūr-nāḍu gave one sacred lamp, weighing (*one*) *tulām*, to the (*temple of the god*) Bhaṭāra of Tiruchchivīndiram which was a *brahmadēya* in Nāñji-nāḍu (*so that it may be*) kept in the *sanctum* of the central shrine and (*allowed to*) burn daily with (*one*) *uṟi* of ghee night and day, from the commencement of the six-hundred and fifty-fourth

1 The same person figures in an inscription of Edirkōṭṭai in the Ramnad district; but there the title is read as Śōḻāntaka.

2 Read அசந்த்ராதித்தம்.

3 பொலியூட்டாக is the word required here.

4 The missing letters are டாமெ எரிவதாக இரவும்.

5 This gap may be filled up with the syllables தம் எனதலை மேலன.

No. 24. SUCHINDRAM INSCRIPTION OF VIRAPANDYA: REGNAL YEAR 13+1.

K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer.

day of this (*regnal*) year,[1] till the moon and the sun last. In order that (*one*) *uri* of ghee provided for this (*lamp*) may be measured out without default as long as the moon and the sun (*endure*), thirty *īḻakkāśu* were deposited, as capital, for bearing interest, with the members of the great assembly of this village, so that the amount may be invested on land and produce interest. We, the members of the great assembly, having received this (*amount of*) thirty *īḻakkāśu*, bound (*ourselves*) to invest (*it*) on land and supply the income. For supplying wick without default, [night] and day for burning this lamp (*as long as the*) moon and the sun (*endure*), one *kāśu* was given to the [washerman] of this village. This lamp . . . . . The sacred [feet] of those who protect this (charity) [shall be on my head].

No. 25.— Suchindram Inscription of Vira-Pandya: regnal year 8.

This inscription of Vīra-Pāṇḍya is also engraved on the same rock at Śuchīndram. The alphabet is Vaṭṭeḻuttu and the language Tamiḻ. It is dated in the fourth year opposite to the fourth year of the reign of the king. Like the Trivandrum museum stone inscription of Māṟañjaḍaiyan, this epigraph would have mentioned, if complete, some battle fought by the king. Unfortunately, that portion of it is not accessible for copying as it is built in by the shrine of Kailāsa. Mention is made in line 4 of a regiment named Teṉṉāṭṭu-[2]Mūtta-Oṟṟai-Śēvagar and to its commander.

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] சொழன் றலைகொண்ட கொ விரபாண்-
2. டியற்கு யாண்டு நான்காமாண்டி னெதிர் நான்-
3. காம் யாண்டு வைய்யாசித்திங்கள் தென்னாட்டு
4. [மு]த்த ஒற்றைச்செவகரில் செவகர் அரைய-
5. . . . . ங்களில் பாய்-
6. . . . .

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the month of Vaigāśi of the fourth year opposite to the fourth year of (*the reign of*) king Vīra-Pāṇḍya, who took the head of the Chōḻa (*king*), the chief of the regiment of soldiers named Mūtta-Oṟṟai-chēvagar of Teṉ-ṉāḍu . . . .

No. 26.— Suchindram Inscription of Vira-Pandya: regnal year 10.

This inscription is engraved in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet and the Tamiḻ language, on the rock near the Kailāsa shrine at Śuchindram. It is dated in the 10th year of the reign of Vīra-Pāṇḍya and registers a gift of sheep for maintaining a

1 Since it is stated that the lamp has to be maintained from the interest accruing on the money granted by the donor by an investment of it on landed property and since usually such interests are paid once every year at the time of the harvest, the first interest would become due only a year after the grant. Hence the donation may be said to have been made on the (654-*minus* ?65) 289th day of the regnal year in order that the object of the grant may take effect from the 654th day of the same regnal year. Such citation of days is not uncommon.

2 On Teṉṉāḍu see above p. 54.

lamp in the temple of Tiruchchivīndirattuu-Emberumāṉ, by a native of Tirukkōḷūr in Tiruvaḷudi-vaḷanāḍu. The Sanskrit letters that occur in the inscription are *śvasti śrī* in line 1 and *saṁkirānti* in line 3. Tirukkōḷūr may be identified with Tirukkaḷūr in the Tiruchchendūr Taluk of the Tinnevelly district. The Tamilised Sanskrit words in the inscription are *niyadam*, *paraḍai*, *niyāyam* and *śavaiyār*: they are derived from *niyata*, *parishad*, *nikāya* and *sabhā*. It is not quite unlikely that *niyāyam* is the Tamiḻ form of *nikāya* and not of *nyāsa*. It seems to denote a class or body of men entrusted with certain fixed functions, which, however,are not apparent at present. The word *niyāyam* also figures in inscriptions as the title of a body of men, who are mostly of the military class, e. g. Niyāyam-Perundanattu-Valaṅgai-Vēḷaikkāra-paḍaikaḷ, Niyāyam-Śiṟudanattu-Valaṅgai-Vēḷaikkāra-paḍaikaḷ, Niyāyam-Śiṟudanattu-paṇimakkaḷ, and Niyāyam-Uttamaśōḷaterinda-andaḷagattāḷar.[1]

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [।।*] சொழன்றலைகொண்ட கொ விரபாண்டி-
2. யர்க்கு யா[ண்]டு நான்கு இதனெதிர் ஆறு இவ்-
3. வாண்டு கன்னிநாயிறு பிறந்த ஸங்கிராந்தி மு-
4. தலாகத் திருச்சிவிந்திரத்து எம்பெருமானு-
5. க்கு நியதம் உழக்கு நெய் முட்டாமல் எரி-
6. வதாகத் திருவழுதிவளநாட்டுத் திருக்கொளூர்ச் சா-
7. த்தஞ் சிங்கம் வைத்த திரிநொந்தாவிளக்கு ஒ-
8. ன்று [।।*] இதுக்கு விட்ட சாவா மூவாப் பெராடு
9. மூன்று நியாயமும் பிழையாதன ஐம்-
10. பது [।।*] இவை பருடைச் சபையார்க்கு காட்டி குடு-
11. த்தன [।।*]

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity! In the sixth year opposite to the fourth of (*the reign of*) king Vīra-Pāṇḍya, who took the head of the Chōḷa (*sovereign*) Śāttam Śiṅgam, (*a native*) of Tirukkōḷūr in Tiruvaḷudi-vaḷanāḍu gave one sacred lamp[2] (*which had to be*) burnt,from the *saṅkrānti* (*day*) of the month of Kaṉṉi of this year, with (*one*) *uḷakku* of ghee per day, whithout any impediment, in (*the temple of*) Emberumāṉ at Tiruchchivīndiram. For this (*lamp*) were assigned fifty ewes which neither die nor grow old and which had not wronged the three bodies (niyāyam).[3] These were shown (*i. e. brought before*) and given to the members of the assembly.

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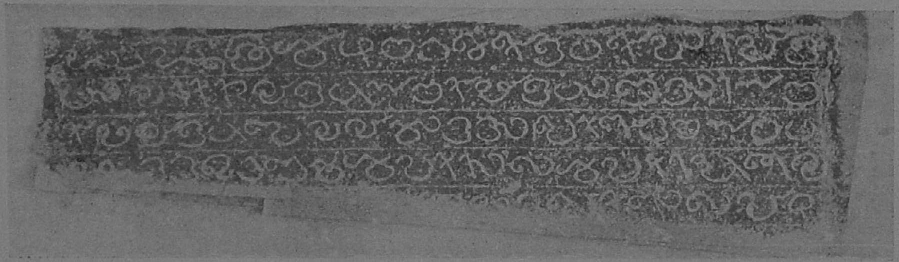
1 *South-Indian Inscription*, Vol. II. pp. 96f, 100-105 and 256.

2 *Tiri-nondā viḷakku*, means 'a lamp whose wick requires no trimming'. It is not incorrect to take *tiri* as the Tamiḻ form *Śrī* which is sometimes written as *śiri* in Tamiḻ.

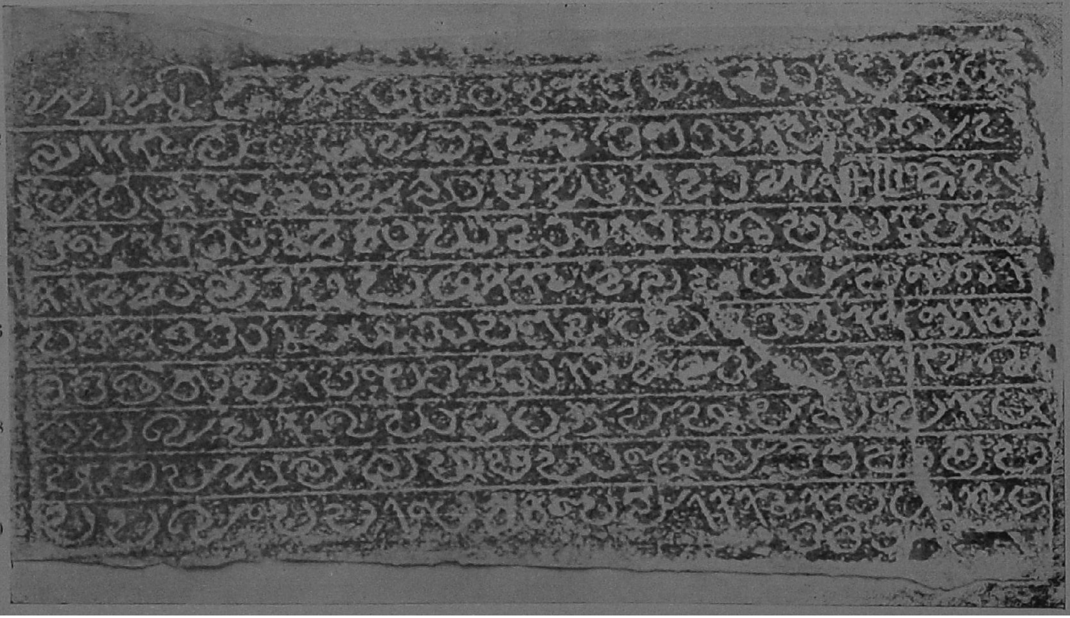
3 The meaning of the phrase *'mūṉṟu-niyāyamum-piḻaiyādaṉa'* is not quite clear. It goes with the word 'sheep'. Perhaps the writer intended to indicate that the sheep were not the unlawful property of the donor.

SUCHINDRAM INSCRIPTION OF VIRAPANDYA.

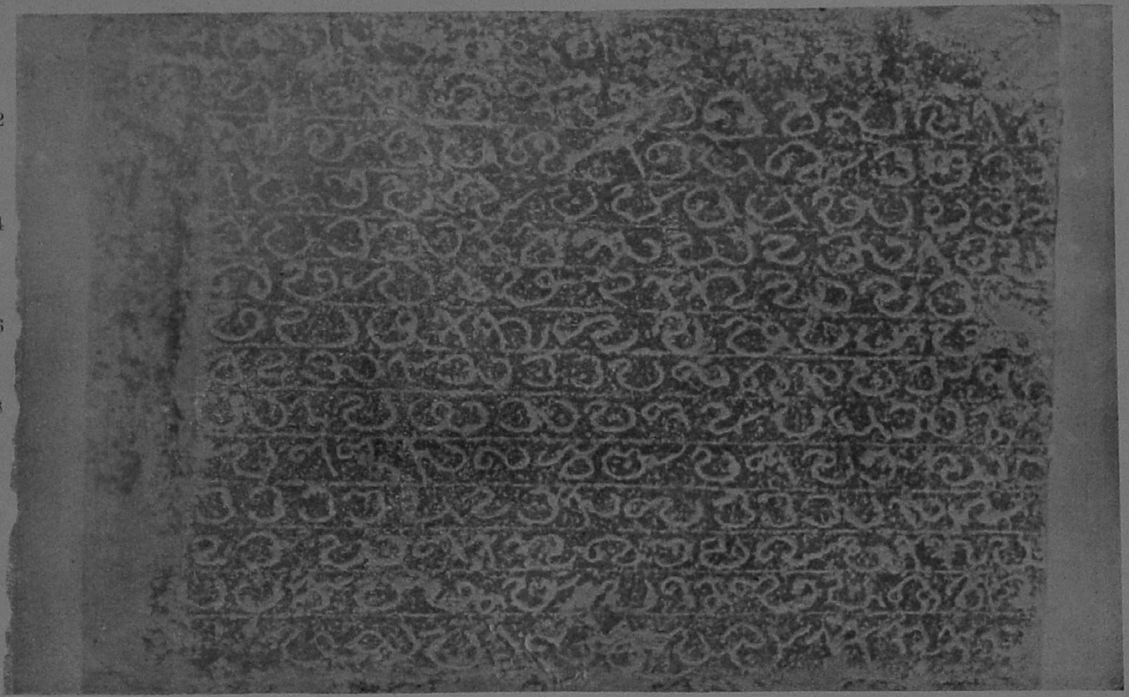
No. 25 (face p. 73)



No. 26 (face p. 74)



No. 27. SUCHINDRAM INSCRIPTION OF MARANJADAIYAN.



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No. 27.— Suchindram inscription of Maranjadaiyan: regnal year 5.

This inscription is engraved on the rock inside the enclosure of the Kailāsa shrine in the Sthāṇunāthasvāmin temple at Suchīndram. It is written in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet and the Tamiḻ language and is dated in the fifth year of reign of the early Pāṇḍya king Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ. There is no clue in the inscription to establish the identity of this king with any member of the Pāṇḍya pedigree furnished in copper-plates. A gift of buffaloes made by Sēṉāvaraiyaṉ *alias* Tattan Andari of Tiruveḷḷūr in Tiruvaḻudi-vaḷanāḍu to the temple of Emberumān at Tiruchchivīndiram for maintaining a lamp, is registered in the record. The native place of the donor must be looked for in the Śrīvaikuṇṭham Taluk of the Tinnevelly district.

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] கொ மாறஞ்சடையர்க்-
2. கு யாண்டு இரண்டு இதனெதி-
3. ர் மூன்று இவ்வாண்டு மிதுனநா[ய]-
4. ற்றுத் திருச்சிவிந்திரத்து
5. எம்பெருமானுக்கு நியத-
6. ம் உழக்கு நெய் முட்டாமல்
7. சந்திராதித்தவல் எரிவதாக[த்]
8. திருவழுதிவளநாட்டு திரு-
9. வெள்ளூரில் செனவரையனயின
10. தத்தன் அந்தரி வைத்த திரிநொ-
11. ந்தாவிளக்கு ஒன்று [॥*] இதுக்கு வி-
12. ட்ட சாவா மூவா[ப்*] பெரெருமை அஞ்சு [॥*] இ-
13. [வை][1] முலபரடை சவையார்க்கு காட்[2]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the month of Mithuna of this year (i. e.) the third opposite to the second year of (*the reign of*) Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ, Sēṉāvaraiyaṉ *alias* Tattṉ Andari of Tiruveḷḷūr in Tiruvaḻudi-vaḷanāḍu gave one sacred lamp[3] to (*the temple of*) Emberumān at Tiruchchivīndiram (*that it*) *may be burnt without* (*any*) impediment as long as the moon and the sun endure, with one *uḻakku* of ghee per day. To this were assigned five buffaloes which neither die nor grow old. These were shown (and handed over) to the members of the assembly.

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1 The syllable வை is completely worn away.

2 The syllables lost at the end may be டி குடுத்தன.

3 See note 2 above page 74.

Stone Inscription of Tirukkannankodu.

This inscription is reported to be engraved on the south side of the temple at the village of Tirukkaṇṇaṅkōḍu in the Eraniel Taluk. It is written in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet which, on palaeographical grounds, may be assigned to the 10th century A. D. The characters of this inscription are similar to those of the Kaviyūr inscription of Kali 4052.[1] Lands granted to the temple at Tirukkaṇṇaṅkōḍu for offerings, by a certain Kaṇḍaṇādāṅgi, a *kāvidi* of Tiruvidāṇkōḍu, are registered in this document. The term *kāvidi* applied to the donor shows that he was either an accountant[2] or a minister: most probably the latter. In the Tamiḻ idyll *Maduraikkāñchi*, *kāvidi*, as a title, is distinctly applied to experienced and capable ministers;[3] and as title of an accountant it occurs in the Tanjore inscriptions of Rājarāja I. Of the places mentioned in the inscription, Puduvūr may be identified with the *kara* of Pudūr in the Tiruvidāṇkōḍ-pakuthy and Śiraikkaṛai may be the same as Cherakkara[4] in the Viḷavankōḍ Taluk.

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] இடபத்து[5] வியாழ[ன்*] நின்ற யாண்டு
2. விரிச்சிக ஞாயிற்று தருமுதான்கொட்டு
3. [கா]விதிபன் கண்டனாதாங்கி புதுவூர் நிலம்உம்[6] மண்ணறையும் துடா
4. லும் சிறைக்கரைத் துடவலும் முனைவாளகண்ணும் இந்நாலு செ[ய்*]யும் திருக்கண்ணங்[7]
5. தெவர்க்கு சுட்டின திருவக்கிரத்[துக்கு]

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the month of Vṛiśchika of the year when Jupiter was in Rishabha. Kaṇḍaṇādāṅgi, a *kāvidi* of Tirumudāṇkōḍu gave for the offerings of the god at Tirukkaṇṇaṅ[kōḍu] these four fields viz. *maṇṇarai* and *tuḍaval* belonging to the lands of Puduvūr, the tuḍaval of Śiṛaikkarai and muṇaivāḷakaṇṇu.

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1 See above, Vol. I. p. 288.

2 The Tamil Nighaṇḍu has "காவிதியரென்ப கணக்கர்தம் வழியிலுள்ளாரே".

3 See lines 493 to 499 which run as follows:

நறுஞ்சாந்து நீவிய கேழ்கிளர் அகலத்-
தாவதி மண்ணி யவிர் துகின் முடித்து
மாவிசும்பு வழங்கும் பெரியோர் போல
நன்றுந் தீதுங் கண்டாய்ந் தடக்கி
யன்பு மறனு மொழியாது காத்துப்
பழியொரீஇ யுயர்ந்து பாய்புகழ் நிறைந்த
செம்மை சான்ற காவிதிமாக்களும்.

4 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. No. 67 para 492.

5 The syllables பத் are written over an erasure: and the first two letters are interchanged.

6 Read நிலமும்.

7 The syllables கொட்டு are lost at the end of this line.

No. 29.—On the east wall of the same temple.

This inscription is reported to be engraved on the east wall of Śiva temple at Tirukkaṇṇaṇkōḍu. It is in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet and the Tamiḻ language; and registers a gift of land for offerings, made by a certain Sōmayāji Nārāyaṇaṇ of Kīḻmarudūr. It is interesting to note that the lands were originally obtained by the donor as a grant for service, either as minister or as commander of the forces of the king. This seems to be indicated by the term *ēṇādippēṟu* given to the portion enjoyed by the donor. Like *maruttuvappēṟu*, this word must denote a grant made by the king to an *ēṇādi*, and it is not unlikely that it is an equivalent of *amaranāyakam* which occurs in a Kṛishṇāpuram record. It may be noted that though *ēṇādi* is a general term applicable to 'a barber, a minister or a military commandant',[1] yet in the particular instance before us, it may be correct to suppose that it refers either to a minister or a general because the title *Sōmayāji*, which occurs as part of the name, clearly indicates that he was a Brahmin by birth and had perfomed *Sōmayāga*. Instances of Brahmins serving as ministers and military officers in ancient times are not un-common. From Tamiḻ works, we gather that *ēṇādi* was a title conferred by a king on a general[2] and that the investiture of it was usually accompanied by decorating the person of the recipient of the honour, with a gold badge or diadem[3] (*paṭṭa*) and a gold ring both of which belonged to the order. Among the 63 Śaiva devotees, there was one named Ēṇādi-Nāyaṇār. At the present day, there is a class of people in the Telugu districts who go by the name *ēṇādis*. They live mostly in huts, possess no property and are employed as menials.

Sōmāyi, which occurs in our inscription, is a corruption of the word *Sōmayājin*. On the word *agram* see page 6 above.

On palaeographical grounds, our record may be assigned to a period not later than the 11th century A. D.

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] துலாத்தில் வியாழ[ன்*]
2. நின்ற யாண்டு ஆனித் திங்கள்க் கிழ்மருதூர் மெலகத்து சொமாயி நாராய
ணன் கிழ்க்கால்வா-
3. ய் வயலில் தன் சொமாயி நாராய[ணன்] றன்னுடைய எனாதிப்பெறைய்
திருக்கண்ணன்கொட்டு ஒரு திருவக்கிர-
4. ஞ் செல்வதாக அட்டிக் குடுத்தான் சொமாயி நாராயணன் [॥*] திருக்க
ண்ணன்கொட்டு தெவர்கன்மிகள் இத்திரு-
5. வக்கிர[ம்*] முட்டாதெய் செலுத்த . . . . மெல்க்கால் வய
லில் பெறைக்கு கிழக்கின் [குன்ற][4]

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1 ஏனாதி மஞ்சிகன் மந்திரியுந் தந்திரிய மென்ப—Nigaṇḍu.

2 The following stanza makes this clear:
போர்க்கடலிகற்றும் புரவித்தேர்ப் பல்படைக்குக்
கார்க்கடல் பெற்ற கரையன்றே- போர்க்கெல்லாந்
தானாதியாகிய தார்வேந்தன் மோதிரஞ்சே
ரேனாதிப் பட்டத் திவன்

3 சூழ்மணி யாழி செம்பொற் சூட்டொடு கண்ணி காதற் றோழர்கட் கருளி occurs in the *Jīvaka-chintāmaṇi*.

4 The record is unfinished.

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the month of Āṉi of the year in which Jupiter stood in Tulām, Sōmayāji Nārāyaṇaṉ of Kīḻmarudūr-Mēlagam gave with libation of water his i. e. Sōmayāji Nārāyaṇaṉ's portion held as *ēṉāḍippēṟu* in the land called Kīḻkkālvāy-vayal, for a sacred feeding at Tirukkaṇṇaṅkōḍu. In order that the managers of the temple (*dēvarkanmi*) of Tirukkaṇṇaṅkōḍu might have this sacred feeding made without (*any*) default . . . . this hill to the east of the *pēṟu* in the field called Mēlkkāl-vayal.

No. 30.—On the same wall.

This inscription is reported to be engraved on the east side of the temple of Tirukkaṇṇaṅkōḍu. It is in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet and the Tamiḻ language and registers a gift of five buffaloes for maintaining a lamp. The gift was made by Kāmaṉ Nārāyaṇaṉ, the *vāriyaṉ* of the village. The term *vāriyam* occurs often in inscriptions and means 'supervision': *e. g.* Ēri-vāriya-Perumakkaḷ. Tōṭṭa-vāriya-Perumakkaḷ, Kaḻaṉi-vāriya-Perumakkaḷ. Samvatsara-vāriya-Perumakkaḷ. which have been taken to mean 'the great men in charge of garden supervision, field supervision and annual supervision'. Accordingly, the donor of our inscription must have been one of the members of the committee appointed to supervise the village.

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] திருக்கண்ணங்கொட்டு தேவ[ர்*]க்கு இவ்வூர்
2. ஊர் வாரியன் காமன் நாராயணன் வைச்ச விள[க்]-
3. கொன்று யெருமை அஞ்சு [॥*] ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*]

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! To the god at Tirukkaṇṇaṅkōḍu, Kāmaṉ Nārāyaṇaṉ the *vāriyaṉ* (supervisor) of this village, gave one lamp and five buffaloes. Hail ! Prosperity !

No. 31.—On the east wall of the Siva temple at Tiruvidankodu.

This inscription, which is said to be engraved on the east base of the central shrine of the Śiva temple of Tiruvidāṅkōḍu, is in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters and the Tamiḻ language. It registers a gift of the land called Śiṟukuḷāvaṟai for maintaining a vṛiśchika lamp in the temple of Īśāṇa-Mahādēva, for offerings to the deity and for the rice to be given to the man who had to watch the lamp. By *vṛiśchika-viḷakku* is perhaps meant the light that had to be kept during the month of Vṛiśchika i. e. Kārttigai.

Svasti śrī and *Mahādēva* are the only words written in Grantha letters. *Kuṟi* in this inscription corresponds to *tuḍai* or *taḍavai* of other epigraphs.[1] It may be noted that there are several instances in this record of unnecessary doubling of consonants. The characters are old enough to be assigned to the 10th century A. D. All the *ya's* are so shaped as to have an inward loop.

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [||*] சுவாமி ஈசானமஹாதெவர்க்கு வைச்ச விரிச்சிய[2] விளக்கு ஒன்று[||*] இதுக்கு குடுத்த பூமி சிறுகுளாவறைய்[3]
2. இறைவரி [4]முக்சணிப்பாடும் [||*] இது செல்லுத்துவது[5] [||*] மிகில் தான்னெ[6] கொள்வது [||*] குறையில் இட்டு செல்லுத்துவது[5] [||*] ஒரு குறி முட்டில் மு-
3. ட்டிரட்டியும் வைச்சு ஒருகாசு தண்டமும் பட்டு இவ்விளக்கு செல்லுத்துவது[5] [||*] இவ்விளக்கு வைக்கு[ம்*] நாள் நான்நாழி[7] அரிசி திருவமி-
4. துக்கும் விளக்கு நொக்குவான்[னு]க்கும்[8] நான்நாழி[7] அரியும்[||*]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! To the god Īśāṇa-Mahādēva was given one Vṛiśchika lamp. The land given for (*the maintenance of*) this was the taxable Śiṟukuḷāvaṟai with the sowing capacity of three *kuṟuṇi* of seed. This expense shall be met (*as provided for*). If there is (*any*) excess, it can be taken by himself (*i. e. the donor*). If deficient, (*it should be*) supplemented and (*the expenses*) defrayed. If default is made once, double the quantity at default shall be paid together with a fine of one *kāśu*: the (*usual*) expenses for the lamp shall (*also*) be met. On the day when this lamp is lighted, four *nāḻi* of rice required for the sacred offering and four *nāḻi* of rice for the person that had to watch the lamp (*shall be given*).

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1 See above, p. 49.
2 Read விருச்சிக.
3 Cancel ய் occurring at the end of this word.
4 Read முக்குறுணி
5 Read செலுத்துவது.
6 Read தானே.
7 Read நாழி.
8 Cancel the letter க்

No. 32.—On the north wall of the same temple.

This inscription, which is said to be engraved on the north base of the central shrine in the Śiva temple at Tiruvidāṅgōḍu, is in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet and the Tamiḻ language. It registers a gift of five buffaloes, by Araṅgaṉ Tiruvāyppāḍi, a native of Vēmbaṉūr in Rājarāja-Teṉṉāḍu for burning a lamp in the temple of Mahādēva at Tirumudāṅkōḍu *i. e* Tiruvidāṅkoḍu. It may be noted that Vēmbaṉūr is a village in the Nīṇḍakara Pakuthy of the Eraniel Taluk. After the conquest by the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I, the Pāṇḍya and Chēra countries together came to be called Rājarāja-Teṉṉāḍu. The Pāṇḍya territory alone was called Rājarāja-Pāṇḍināḍu.

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] இராசராசத் தென்னாட்டு வெம்ப-
2. னூர் அரங்கந் திருவாய்ப்பாடி செ-
3. ந்[தி]னங்கையைச் சார்த்தித் திருமுதான்-
4. கொட்டு மாதேவர்க்கு வைய்த்த நுந்தாவி-
5. ளக்கு ஒன்று[க்*]கு எருமை அஞ்சு[॥*] இது செ-
6. லுத்துவானமைந்[த]ார் ஸவையார்.

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! Araṅgaṉ Tiruvāyppāḍi of Vēmbaṉūr, (*a village*) in Rājarāja-Teṉṉāḍu, gave five buffaloes for one perpetual lamp (*to be burnt in the temple of*) Mahādēva at Tiruvidāṅkōḍu for (*the merit of*) Sēndi Naṅgai. The members of the assembly agreed to burn this (lamp).

No. 33.—Palaiyur Copper-Plate of Kollam 781.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on both sides of a single plate measuring 8½″ by 1 7/10″. The plate is without ring or rim. It evidently belongs to the Church at Pālaiyūr. I edit it from one set of impressions taken and kept in my office.

The inscription is written in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters of the period to which it belongs. The following peculiarities deserve to be noted:—Ṟ is shaped sometimes like an *anusvāra*: the short and long forms of *a* (*l.* 2) and *pu* (*l.* 16) are not distinguished and the formation of *ṉō* is peculiar: in line 16, the word *tāḻkki* occurs and I take it to be a change of the Sanskrit *sākshi* whose other variants are *śākki* and *tākki*. It is interesting to note that, as a rule, *ta* is often found, in Vaṭṭeḻuttu epigraphs, to take the place of *śa* or *sa* *e. g.* *tantadi* for *santati*, *tāḷikkirūmam* for *śāḷigrāmam*, etc.

The language of the inscription may be said to be Malayāḷam on account of the use of forms like பலிச, காணமாவித, ஆயிரத்த, தெசத்த, அதின, வித்திலு, பணத்தின, கிழியுமாற etc. In this inscription marked preference is given to *a* endings instead of the Tamiḻ *u* and the dative termination is *u* instead of the Tamiḻ *ku*.

This document evidences the conveyance of a landed property situated in Iḷaṅguḷam in Iriññappuram-dēśam, as a set off against interest due on money lent by the Vicar of the Pālaiyūr Church to a resident of Kūttañchēri.[1] The Nambūdiri of Kōdanallūr[2] figures as a witness; and a certain Śāttappa-Mēṉōṉ of Māḍakkāva attests the deed.

Pālūr mentioned in the inscription is one of the traditionary places where the first seven Christian Churches were built. It is in the Pālaiyūr-aṁśam of the Ponnani Taluk in British Malabar and contains a Syro-Roman Church.[3]

Text.

First Side.

1. கொல்லம் எாஅமக-மத குமப ஞாயற்றில் எழுதிய [வெம்][4]-
2. பாட்டம் நெற் பலிச ஒலகாணமாவத [॥*] ப[ா]லூற்பள்ளிலெ விகாரியு ம் புரொ-
3. த்திக்காரரும் கூட கை(ா)ய்யால் ஆயிரத்த அன்மபத்த அஞ்-
4. ச புது பணம் கொண்டான் கூத்தம்செரி இரெவிநாராணென்

1 This name may also be read 'Kūttamvēli or Kūttampēri'.

2 This word may also be read as Kodavallūr.

3 Logan's a Malabar, Vol. 1., p. 199.

4 [illegible] பட்டம் occurs in line 8f.

5. கொண்டான்[।।*] கொண்டன[1] பரிசாவத[।।*] இக்கொண்ட புது [க பணம்][2] ௲௫-
6. ௫-ஆம் காரியம் தன்ற்றெ இரிங்ஙப்புரம் தெசத்த இளங்-
7. குளத்த வடிக்கெமுறி[3] பறம்பும் அதின [அடு]த்த கண்டங்-
8. ஙள் நால்பதிறுழி வித்தி[னு க]ண்டவும் கூட நில [பா-
9. [ட்டமுள்]ப்பட ஆயிரத்த அன்ம்பத்த அஞ்சு பணத்தின

Second Side.

10. நெற்பலிச கிழிடுமாற[4] எழுதிக் கொடுத்தான் இரெவி நாராணென்[।।*]
11. இம்மார்க்கமெ இச்சொன்ன இளங்குளத்தெ வடக்கெமுறிப் பற[ம்*]-
12. பும் அதிடுத்த[5] கண்டம் நாஞுழி வித்தின்னு கண்டவும் கூடி ஆ-
13. யாத்த[6] ௲௫௫ [7]த்தின்ன நெற்பலிச கிழியுமாற எழு-
14. திச்சு கொண்டாற் பாலூற் பள்ளியில் விகாரி [।।*] பளுக்குளங்ஙரெ
15. இட்டி அச்செனும்[8] புரோத்திக்காரரும் கூடி இப்படிக்க
16. இதட்டுயும்[9] [।।*] தாழ்க்கி கொதநல்லூர்[10] நம்புதிரி[।।*] மா-
17. டக்காவில் சாத்தப்பமெனென்[11] கையழுத்த[।।*]

Translation.

The (*following is*) the document evidencing (*the transfer of*) the rent of land, for rightful[12] interest on money, executed in the month of Kumbham of the Kollam year 781. From the Vikāri (i. e. Vicar) of the Church at Pālūr and Purōttikkārar, (*a certain*) Iravi Nārāṇaṉ of Kūttañchēri received one thousand and fifty-five new *paṇam*. Thus was it received. The consideration for this grant of 1055 new *paṇam* is:—

Iravi Nārāṇaṉ wrote and gave (*i. e. conveyed*), as a set off against interest due on the said (*one*) thousand and fifty-five *paṇam*, the rent of his land called

---

1 Delete ன.

2 Here Malayāḷam 1 and *paṇam* sign are engraved.

3 Read வடக்கெமுறி as in text-line 11: டி may also be ட.

4 Read கிழியுமாற as in text-line 13.

5 Read அதடுத்த or அதின அடுத்த as in line 7.

6 Read ஆயிரத்த.

7 There is a symbol before this word which must stand for *paṇam*.

8 Read அச்சனும்.

9 This word has to be corrected into இத அறியும்.

10 This word may also be read as கொதவல்லூர், as the inscription does not make much difference between ந and வ: but the text reading is preferable

11 Read கைஎழுத்த.

12 I am informed by my friend Mr. T. K. Joseph. B. A., L. T., that *nēr-palisa* is the term applied to 12 per cent interest and *Purōttikkār* means an accountant in a Church.

Vaḍakkēmuriparambu in Iḷaṅguḷam of (i. e. *belonging to*) Iriññapuram-dēśam, together with the fields adjoining it, of the sowing capacity of forty *nāḻi* of seed. In this wise, the Vikāri (i. e. Vicar) of the Church at Pālūr got it written and received (i. e. purchased), the rent of land as a set off against the interest due on the (*sum of*) 1055[1] *paṇam*, the said Vaḍakkēmuri-parambu of Iḷaṅguḷam, together with the fields adjoining it, with the sowing capacity of four[2] *nāḻi* of seed. Iṭṭi-Achchaṉār of Parūkkuḷaṅgara and Purōttikkārar thus know this. The Nambūdiri of Kōḍanallūr (is) witness. (This is) the signature of Śāttappa-Mēṉōṉ of Māḍakkāvu.

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1 In words 'thousand' is engraved before 1055.

2 *Four* is evidently a mistake for '*forty*' or *vice versa*: see text-line 8.

Kanyakumari Inscription
of
Vira-Rajendra.

No. 34.—KANYAKUMARI INSCRIPTION OF VIRARAJENDRA.

Cape Comorin, also called Kanyākumari, is the most southerly point of India. It is situated at a distance of $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Agastyēśvaram, a village in the taluk of that name in the Padmanabhapuram Division of the Travancore State. It seems to have got its name Kanyākumari from the Virgin goddess *i. e.*, Pārvati or Durga to whom the important temple in the place is dedicated. The village is variously known as Kanni,[1] Kumari or Kanyākumari.

Hipparchos observes that the southern extremity of India is under the same degree of latitude as Merve. Ptolemy (A. D. 150) refers to Cape Comorin under the name *Komaria Akron* and the author of the *Periplus* (A. D. 85) speaks of pilgrims bathing at the place in honor of the goddess which is supposed to represent the Indian Diana or Hecate. Both describe Kolkhoi, which is the modern Koṛkai and the ancient capital of the Pāṇḍyas, as an emporium of pearl trade, situated on the sea coast to the east of Cape Comorin, and as giving its name to the Kolkhoi gulf or gulf of Mannar. "After Bakare", says the author of the *Periplus*, "occurs the mountain Pyrrhos (or the Red) towards the south, near another district of the country called Paralia (where the pearl fisheries are, which belong to the Pandion) and a city of the name of Kolkhoi. Next to this is another place called Komar, where is the cape of the same name and a haven. Those who wish to consecrate the closing part of their lives to religion come hither and bathe and engage themselves to celebacy. This is also done by women; since it is related that the goddess once on a time resided at the place and bathed "[2]

Kanyākumari is considered a very sacred place by the Hindus and its antiquity can be traced to a remote past. Bathing in the sea at this point, and worshipping the goddess, duly observing vows, were believed to remove all sins, secure merit, ensure the uplifting of souls to blissful regions. In the *Vana-Parva* of the *Mahābhārata* (v. 23) it is said that "one should bathe in the *tīrtha* called Kanyā on the sea coast. Bathing there, one is cleansed of all sins" and further on (in vv., 136-8) it is added that "going to Kanyā with regulated diet and subdued mind, one reaches the region of Manu, the lord of creation. Whatever gift is made at Kanyā, the Ṛishis of rigid vows say, becomes everlasting". Imprecations occurring at the end of inscriptions give us to understand that the most heinous of sins are those committed on the banks of the Ganges and (Kanyā) kumari. These imprecations are not uniform in all records and the variation in the wording has led to differences in their interpretation. The following are two of the forms of the imprecation which introduces this place:—

i. *இது அழித்தார் கங்கையிடைக் குமரியிடை செய்தார் செய்த பாவத்துப் படுவார்*

ii. *கங்கையிடை குமரியிடை எழுநூற்றுக்காதஞ் செய்தார் செய்த பாவங்கொள்வார்.*

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1 'கன்னியே குமரியென்ப' and 'மின்னிடைக்குமரி கன்னி'. See J. Mc. Crindle's *Ancient India* Vol. VI. p. 95.

2 Caldwell's History of Tinnevelly, p. 19 and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII.

They are taken to mean:—

i. "Those who destroy this (charity) shall incur the sins committed on the banks of the Ganges and Kumari:" and

ii. "Shall incur the sins comitted by all persons living in the tract of country extending over 700 *kādam* between the Ganges and Kumari" or

"Shall incur the sin of committing 700 murders (*kādam* for *ghāta*) on the banks af the Ganges and Kumari."

It is not our object to discuss here the correctness or otherwise of the interpretations but only to show how sacred the composers of ancient inscriptions regarded the place Kanyākumari.

That a large concourse of people frequented this place for a bath in the sea is gathered from the Tamiḻ poem *Maṇimēgalai.*[1] In this work, it is stated that Śāli, the wife of a Brāhmaṇa named Apañchikaṉ versed in the Vēdas and a resident of Vāraṇāśi (i. e. Benares) wronged her husband by straying out of the path of virtue and lost her chastity, and, that fearing the punishment that awaited her, she went, walking all the way to Kumari in the southern region with a fatigued body, bathed there, worshipped the feet of the Virgin Goddess and got rid of her sin.[2] These references bear out the statement of the *Mahābhārata.*

Early Tamil literature abounds in allusions to the place which point to its having been included in the dominion of the Pāṇḍya kings, the limit of whose southern boundary it was. Describing the fame of the ancient Pāṇḍya king Kuḍumi (i. e. Palyāgaśālai Mudukuḍumi Peruvaḻudi), the poet Kārikiḻār says that it extended in the north far beyond the northern high and snow-clad mountain (i. e. the Himalayas); in the south the (river) Kumari swelling with

1 "குரங்கு செய் கடற் குமரியம் பெருந்துறைப்
பரந்துசென் மாக்களொடு தேடினன் பெயர்வோன்." Canto. V.

2 "வாரணாசியோர் மறையாள
னாரண வுவாத்தி யபஞ்சிக னென்போன்
பார்ப்பனி சாலி காப்புடை கழிந்து
கொண்டோற் பிழைத்த தண்டமஞ்சித்
தென்றிசைக் குமரி யாடிய வருவோள்." Canto XIII, *ll.* 3-7.

"கடவை வருத்தமொடு நல்கூர் மேனிபன்
வடமொழியாட்டி மறை முறை யெய்திக்
குமரிபாதங் கொள்கையின் வணங்கித்
தமரிற் றீர்ந்த சாலியென்போடனை." *ibid. ll.* 72-5.

"பார்ப்பார்க்கொவ்வாப் பண்பினின் ஒழுகி." *ibid. l.* 80.

flood; in the east the sea dug out by the Sagaras with its waves beating against the shore; and in the west the ancient western ocean.[1] Another poet Kuruṅgōḻiyūrkiḻār of the *Saṅgam* period, praising the achievements of the Chēra sovereign Yāṉaikkat-chēymāndarañchēral-Irumboṟai, records that he protected the family of the Pāṇḍya king Talaiyālaṅgāṉattu-cheru-veṉṟa-Neduñjeḻiyaṉ who ruled the territory lying between the southern Kumari and the northern great mountain and bounded by the seas on the east and west.[2] These two references make it plain that Cape Comorin was situated in, and marked the southern boundry of, the Pāṇḍya territory. The titles குமரிச் சேர்ப்பன் and கன்னிகாவலன், applied to the kings of the Pāṇḍya dynasty, also tell the same fact.[3] The ancient bard Neṭṭimaiyār, eulogising the feat of the Pāṇḍya king Kuḍumi (i. e. Palyāgaśālai-Mudukuḍumi-Peruvaḻudi), already referred to, prays that his patron may be spared for as many years as are counted by the sands in the excellent river Pahruḷi which was opened by Vadimbalambaniṉṟa-Pāṇḍya, one of the ancestors of that king, who conducted a festival in honour of the ocean god.[4] From this, we gather that the river Pahruḷi flowed past Comorin and it might be that it is identical with the modern Paḷaiyāṟu which, irrigating the lands near Kōṭṭāṟu empties itself in the Indian Ocean near the cape. In this connection, it is worthy of note that in Smith's *Ancient Atlas*, commenting on the geography of classical authors, Col. Yule mentious "Paralia" which, according to the *Periplus*, was the name of a region extending from a point a few miles south of Quilon to Cape Comorin and writes "this is no doubt *Puṟali*, an old name of Travancore, from which the Rāja of Travancore has the title *Puṟalīśan* 'lord of Purali.

1 வடாஅது பனிபடு நெடுவரை வடக்குந்
தெனாஅ துருகெழு குமரியின் தெற்குங்
குணாஅது கரைபொரு தொடுகடற் குணக்குங்
குடாஅது தொன்று முதிர் பௌவத்தின் குடக்கும்".—Verse 6 of *Puṟam*.

2 Verse 17 of *Puṟanāṉūṟa* has

தென்குமரி வடபெருங்கல்
குண குட கடலா வெல்லை
* * * * * * *
சுடர் நேமி முழுதாண்டோர் வழிகாவல.

3 See the Tamil Nigaṇḍu under the 'Pāṇḍya".

4 முந்நீர் விழவி னெடியோ
னன்னீர்ப் பஃறுளி மணலினும் பலவே.

5 Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 256. There is a river called Paraliyāṟu which commences somewhere near Ponmana (Kalkulam Taluk), joins at Mūnāṟṟumugam near Tiruvaṭṭāṟu with Kōdaiyāṟu and passing through Kuḻitturai empties itself in the sea at Teṅṅāppaṭṭaṇam.

The Muhamadan historian Abulfeida (A. D. 1203-4) refers to Cape Comorin under the name Ras Kumhāri and states that it was the limit between Mabar (the country of the Pāṇḍyas) and Malabar. The Venetian traveller Marco Polo visited the place at the end of the 13th century A. D. He describes it in the following terms:—[1]

"Cumari is a country belonging to India, and there you can see something of the North Star which we had not been able to see from the Lesser Java thus far. In order to see it, you must go some 30 miles out to sea and then you see it about a cubit above the water." "This is a wild country, and there are beasts of all kinds there, especially monkeys of such peculiar fashion that you would take them for men. There are also Gat-Pauls in wonderful diversity, with bears, lions and leopards, in abundance."

Tamil was the language spoken in early times at this place. This is learnt from the references given below which mark out the boundaries of the Tamil land:—

"நெடியோன் குன்றமுந் தொடியோள் பௌவமுந்
தமிழ் வரம்பறுத்த தண்புன னாடு"—*Śilappadigāram.*

"வடவேங்கடந் தென் குமரி யாயிடை
தமிழ் கூறு நல்லுலகம்"—*Tolgāppiyam.*

A word about the position of the temple and the inscription in it will not be out of place here.

A spaceous rectangular ground at the very shore of the sea is walled off on all sides and the enclosed court contains a pile of buildings, at the centre of which is the *sanctum* of the goddess Kanyābhagavatī, facing the east. The innermost shrine which contains the deity does not preserve the old structure. It was probably renovated years ago.[2] There are no inscriptions on the walls to furnish a clue as to when it was repaired or renewed. Neither is there any sculpture worth mentioning. Leaving a little space all round the walls of the adytum, a covered inner circuit runs; and the floor of the part is on a higher level than that of the intervening space. On the south-west corner of this circuit, there is a shrine of Gaṇēśa, facing the east. The entrance to it, which must have been put up in recent times, covers portions of early inscriptions. The outer walls of the surrounding verandah on the north and south sides are prolonged towards the east *i. e.* in front, but are screened by cross walls put up on either side of the entrance into the central shrine provided with openings which lead one from the inner circuit to the surrounding parts of what is known as *maṇi-maṇḍapa*. This last is erected in front of the *garbhagṛiha* and is supported by six inscribed cylindrical pillars, four of which are placed at the four corners of the *maṇi-maṇḍapa* and the two remaining ones are fixed at either side of the entrance into the adytum. Brick walls

1 Col. Yule's Marco Polo, Vol. II. p. 318.

2 It is said to have been built by Krishṇarāja of Narasinga—*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 317.

erected on the north and south sides, parallel to the prolonged portions of the outer *prākāra* walls, convert the space between, into small chambers. The portion, so walled off on the south, contains two small rooms one within the other, and this seems to have once served the purpose of a *karivēlam i. e.* a store-room. The portion on the north, furnishes two rooms one of which serves for keeping the worshipping vessels and the other enshrines the *utsava* image. The modern brick wall on the north side is put up in such a way as to cover two or three inscribed pillars which may contain the end of the Chōḷa *praśasti* engraved on the six cylindrical pillars already referred to. The inner and outer faces of the north, west and south *prākāra* walls contain ancient inscriptions; but are so completely covered by a thick layer of chunam that we can form no idea as regards the number and importance of the inscriptions which they envelope.

The *sabhā-maṇḍapa* or assembly hall is in front of the *maṇi-maṇḍapa*. It is more long than broad. On either side there are rows of pillars somewhat sculptured. The structure is not very ancient but is of importance for the belt of sculptural scenes representing some Puranic story, carved on the four sides almost at the top, immediately above the columnar heads. The ceiling of the *maṇḍapa* bears some modern painting. On the south-western corner there is a small compartment now used for keeping oil and lamps, while on the north eastern side, a flight of steps leads down to the bottom of a well from which water is taken for temple purposes. Leaving a little space behind the rows of pillars on the north and south wings, the inner *prākāra* walls extend. The easternmost portion of this hall is screened by a cross wall with an entrance leading into the second *prākāra* very near the *dhvajastambha*. There is also an entrance on the north side opening into the same *prākāra*.

The first *prākāra* walls enclose within them

i. the *garbhagriha*,

ii. the *pradakshiṇa* round it with the shrine of Gaṇēśa,

iii. the *maṇi-maṇḍapa* with its inscribed pillars and the compartments on either wing *i. e.* the *karivēlam.*, the shrine of the *utsava* and the room where worshipping vessels are kept,

iv. the *sabhā-maṇḍapa* with a small chamber on the south-west corner and the flight of steps leading to the well on the north-west corner.

The second or *Śrī-bali-prākāra* is broader than the first and better lighted. It gets its name from the circumstance that *bali* stones are kept all round and the image of the deity is taken in procession daily through it, accompained by a drummer, one bearing light, a dancer and a *Śānti-pōtti*, in order to offer flower and rice to the *bali* stones. On the southern side of the *prākāra* there are spacious rooms for cooking the offerings to the deity and preparing meals for feeding Brahmans in the *namaskāra-maṇḍapa* which in this temple is a portion of the *prākāra* adjoining the kitchen. On the north side is the shrine of Tyāgasundarī and on the east is the *dhvajastambha*.

Almost in the middle of the north *prākāra*, there is an entrance with a small raised platform on either side having three inscribed pillars. Going out through this entrance, we arrive at a passage, on one side of which is the *ūñjāl-maṇḍapa* and on the other a compartment for keeping the vehicles of the godess and for stringing garlands of flowers.

As has been already noted, the subjoined inscription is engraved on six cylindrical pillars set up in the *Maṇi-maṇḍapa* of the Kanyā-Bhagavati temple at Cape Comorin. The existence of it was known to scholars for a long time, though it was neither read nor its importance ascertained. Mr. R. Sewell notices it in his *Lists of Antiquities* under the village Agastyēśvaram thus:—

There are a number of inscriptions here, all said to be in Tamil. They are to be seen on the pillars round the shrine at Kanyakumari.[1]

The Madras Epigrapical Department visited the place in 1896 and secured copies of as many as 15 inscriptions.[2] In this collection, our record does not find place. Being covered with a thick layer of oil mixed with fine dust, it defied at first all attempts made to decipher it *in situ:* and the preparation of inked estampages was also fruitless. Finally and mainly by the exertion of Pandit Srinivasa Sastri, *Smritiviśārada*, an eye-copy of the record was made and a fairly good impression of it secured: and with the help of these, the late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao contributed an article to the *Epigraphia Indica* which contained a preliminary notice of the inscription.

Though the impression prepared previously was a tolerably good one, it was not fit for reproduction. Owing to the oil that had adhered to the pillars, there were spots here and there that had not come out well in the estampage. In such places, the correctness of the reading could only be verified by referring to the stone original. With a view to obtain a better impression and to clear many a doubtful point in the reading, I went to the cape and made a fresh endeavour. All the doubtful readings were verified on the spot and necessary corrections made.

The epigraph opens with three invocatory verses addressed to Śiva (Bhavānīpati and Śabmhu) and Vishṇu (Hari), for the prosperity of the Chōḷa family and for the removal of their sins. Out of sport, Śiva became the author of creation, preservation, and destruction (v. 1), and carried in himself Māyā (primordial matter or Śakti) which produces the pairs of opposites, knowledge and ignorance and pleasure and pain (v. 2). Verses 4, 5, and 6 detail the order of creation. Reference is here made to the supreme will of the lord of the universe

1 *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 256.

2 These are. Nos 92 to 109 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1896. (*Vide.* G. O. Nos 814, 815, Public, 6th August 1896).

resulting in the evolution of the world. He first created water and sowed in it his own seed. Thence came Brahmāṇḍa which enveloped (i. e. contained) the three worlds and Brahmā[1] (v. 4).

Verse 5 states that from Brahmā emanated the worlds and divers objects as well as the Munīndras among whom was Marīchi. From Marīchi came Kaśyapa. His sons were the Dēvas and Asuras who were constantly fighting with each other (v. 6) and Vivasvān (i. e. Sūrya) whose brilliance woke up Brahmā from sleep and dispelled the darkness of the universe[2] (v. 8). Sūrya's son was Manu, the first of the kingly race and the expounder of the *dharma*[3] (v. 9). His son was Ikshvāku[4] (v. 10) and the latter's son was Vikukshisrava (v. 11). Of him the purāṇas say that he killed some hares at his father's bidding, and after eating a portion of the flesh, brought the residue for being offered in the ancestral obsequies which Ikshvāku was celebrating. By this fact he was called Śaśāda, the hare-eater. Purañjaya was his son. It is reported of him that, on a violent war breaking out between the Dēvas and Asuras, he made Indra a bull, stood on his hump and vanquished the Asura foe and acquired the name Kakutstha (v. 12). The name of Kakutstha's son Anēnas is omitted in the inscription; but the latter's son Prithu, who was one of the powerful sovereigns of the solar line, is mentioned (v. 13). The *Vishṇu-Purāṇa* says that the earth derived its name Prithvī from him.[5] He is reported to have newly started cultivation, pasture, agriculture and merchandise. Between Prithu and Kuvalāśva, there were Viśvagaśva, Ārdra, Yuvanāśva, Śravasta and Brihadaśva. Of these kings, whose names are omitted in the mythical

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1 From here commences the mythical genealogy of the Solar kings. The information contained in it agrees, as will be pointed out below, with the account furnished in the early literature of the country which should have embodied more ancient traditions current at the time when they were first utilised by the authors. It is not likly to violate the probability of facts concerning the past history of the country, if only apparent improbabilities are eschewed. They could not be pure inventions, but must contain a certain amount of historical matter. As such, we notice the mythical account furnished in the Kanyakumari inscription, though it is not very pertinent for Chōḷa history, the narration of which was the object of the writer of the *praśasti*.

2 These four members are thus introduced in the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*:—

ஆதிமால் கமலநாபிகமலத்தயனுதித்-
தயன் மரீசியெனுமன்னனை யளித்தபரிசுங்-
காதல்கூர்தரு மரீசிமகனாகி வருங்
காசிபன் கதிருக்கினை யளித்தபரிசும்

The position of Marichi and Kaśyapa are interchanged in the *Vikkiramaśōḷan-ula* (v. 3).

3 In introducing Manu, both *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* and *Vikkiramaśōḷanula* refer to his act of running a car over his own son, in order to do justice to a cow, whose calf had been accidentally killed by the wheals of his son's car:-

அவ்வருக்கன் மகனாகி மனுமேதினிபுரக்-
குரியகாதலனை யாவினதுகன்றுக்கொரன்-
றெவ்வருக்குமிப்பமுறைசெய்தகதையும்-
இக்குவாகுவிவன் மைந்தனெனவந்த பரிசும்- *Kalinga*°.
சிந்தை யாவிற்குமுற்றதிருத்தேரின்-
மைந்தனையூர்ந்த மனுவோனும்- *Vikkira*°

4 This relationship is given in the *Kalingattupparani*: see note 3.

5 Wilson's *Visṇu-Purāṇa*, p. 104.

genealogy, Purāṇas have not got much to say except the fact that Śravasta founded the city of Śrāvastī.[1]

Verse 14 speaks of Kuvalāśva's defeat of the powerful demon Dundhu who, concealing himself in the sands of the river Sindhu afflicted the Dēvas. This verse thus hints at the surname Dundhumāra assumed by king Kuvalāśva. It is to be noted that the name Kuvalāśva, which occurs as such in the *Vāyu-Purāṇa*, appears in the slightly altered form Kuvalayāśva in the Vishṇu and other Purāṇas as well as in the *Mahābhārata*.[2] The next person mentioned in our record is Māndhāta.[3] Here we notice the omission of the names of seven kings *viz.* Dṛidhāśva, Haryaśva, Nikumbha, Saṁhatāśva, Kriśāśva, Prasēnajit and Yuvanāśva, the father of Māndhāta, all of whom came to throne in regular succession after Kuvalayāśva.

In introducing Muchukunda, our record states that he came in the family of Māndhāta but does not say that he was his son. The Purāṇas, however, declare that Purukutsa, Ambarīsha and Muchukunda were the three sons of Māndhāta, born to his queen Bindumatī.[4] Hariśchandra, who is next mentioned, was the descendant of Purukutsa, the line continuing in the persons of Trasadasyu, Sambhūta, Anaraṇya, Pṛishadaśva, Haryaśva, Sumanas also called Vasumanas, Tridhanvan Trayyāruṇa and Satyavrata *alias* Triśaṅku, whose son Hariśchandra was.[5]

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1 This place has been identified with Fa Hian's *She-wei* and Hiuen Tsiang's *She-lo-va-sa-ti* located by both the pilgrims in the neighbourhood of Fyzebad in Oudh.

2 We learn from the *Mahābhārta* that Dundhu was the son of Madhu and Kaiṭabha, that he obtained great boons by performing severe penance, that he oppressed the Dēvas in order to avenge the death of his parents, harassed Uttanka-maharishi; and that king Kuvalayāśva, obtaining the energy of Nārāyaṇa, along with his twenty one thousand sons excavated the sands of the Sindhu river where the demon lay concealed. By the fire of Dundhu's breath all the sons of Kuvalayāśva, with the only exception of three, perished; but after a severe contest, the king killed the demon and thus earned the name Dundhumāra (*Vana-Parva*, ch. CCIII).

3 In the *Mahābhārata* and elsewhere it is said that Yuvanāśva being left without any issue, took to penance; that while residing in the forest, he inadvertantly drank the water, endowed with prolific efficacy, reserved for his queen Saudāmini by a certain Rishi; and that he conceived and brought forth a son from his right side. There was none to nurse the child. Indra offered to do it and said *mām dhāsyati*; and hence the name Māndhātṛi was given to the child. Māndhāta is reported to have been a very pious and virtuous monarch, to have brought the seven continents under his sway, to have perfomed one thousand sacrifices and offered 10000 *padmas* and rich *dakshiṇas* to Brāhmanas and to have removed a twelve years famine that raged in the country. (Mbh. Vana. Chap. CXXVI.)

4 Wilson's *Vishṇu-Purāṇa* p. 363. *Kalinga°* and *Vikkir°* state that his rule was so benign that tiger and deer drank water together from the same *ghat*. In the former work he is referred to as 'ஒருதுறைப்புனல் சினப்புலியுமானு முடனே யுண்ணவைத்தவுரவோ னுலகில் வைத்தவருளும்' and in the latter work 'அடுபுலியும் புல்வாயுங்கூட நீருட்டிய கொற்றவனும்'

5 The genealogy given in the Matsya-Purāṇa is Purukutsa, his son Dussaha, his son Sambhūti, and his son Tridhanvan. Linga-Purāṇa makes Sambhūti a brother of Tresadasyu; Agni substitutes Sudhanvan for him; and Bhāgavata omits him entirely. As in the Matsya, the Agni and Brahma-Purāṇas omit the names of Anaraṇya, Pṛishadaśva, Haryaśva and Sumanas. Vāyu has Bṛihadaśva in place of Sumanas; and according to the Bhāgavata version, Anaraṇya's son was Haryaśva, his son Aruṇa, his son Tribandhana and his son Triśanku.

Many of these are notable characters in the Hindu mythology. Māndhāṭri figures as the author of a hymn in the Ṛig-Vēda and he is even called an Angiras by Āśvalāyana. Harita, the son of Yuvanāśva and the grand-son of Ambarīsha, became the ancestor of the Angirasa-Haritas. Linga and Vāyu Purāṇas state that Harita was the son of Yuvanāśva and his sons were the Hāritas; they were followers of Āṅgiras and were Brāhmaṇas with the properties of Kshatriyas.[1] We may note that it was quite common in those days for persons of Kshatriya origin to become disciples of Brāhmaṇas, particularly of the Āṅgiras and Bṛigu sects and afterwards to found schools of religious instruction themselves.[2] Hārīta is the name of an individual sage considered as the son of Chyavana. To him, a work on law is ascribed. Traiyāruṇa is another member of the solar race who is noted for his contribution to the Ṛig-Vēda. Every body knows how staunch a friend Triśaṅku was of Viśvāmitra, by whom he was elevated to heaven, against the curse of Vasiṣṭha and the condemnation of his own father. He is spoken of as *satyavādi* and *jitēndriya* and is cited in the Taittirīya-Upanishad as a Vēdic authority.

Verse 19 alludes to the story of Hariśchandra, who discharged his debt to the insatiable Viśvāmitra by selling himself, his wife and son. Our inscription passes over the names Rōhitāśva, his son Harita, his son Chunchu, his sons Vijaya and Sudēva; Vijaya's son Ruruk, his son Vṛika and his son Bāhuka, who was deprived of his kingdom by the Haihayas and Tālajaṅghas, and forced to live in forest, where, after his demise, his son Sagara was born and carefully tended by the sage Aurva. This king Sagara is introduced in verse 20 which hints at the several sacrifices performed by him and of the successful attempts made by his sons in digging the ocean.[3]

The names of Amśumat and his son Dilīpa are omitted in our record but reference is made (in verse 21) to the hard lot that befell the sons of Sagara and to the attempt made by the next great king of the solar line i. e. Bhagīratha to bring down the heavenly river Gaṅgā in order to conduct the obsequies of Sagara's sons.[4] As in the Vishṇu-Purāṇa, our inscription hints that the river was called Bhāgīrathī after king Bhagīratha. Passing over the names of Śruta, Nābhāga, Ambarīsha, Sindhudvīpa and Ayutāśva, whose reigns were uneventful, the inscription mentions (v. 22) Ṛituparṇa, the son of Ayutāśva, who is said to have been a friend of Naḷa, the son of Vīrasēna, skilled profoundly in dice.[5] Omitting

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1 Vishṇu-Purāṇa Ch. III of Bk. IV.

2 As. Res. VIII. 385.

3 The story of Sagara is thus told in the Mahābhārata: He defeated the Haihayas and Tālajaṅghas who did his father wrong. He took to wife two princesses, one a Vaidarbhi and another a Śaibya and had 60001 sons. On the occasion of performing a horse sacrifice, the animal having been stealthily removed to the abode of Kapila, Sagara sent his sons to search for it. Excavating the earth, they found it out; but in the attempt to rescue it without the permission of the Ṛishi and having insulted him, they were burnt to ashes. Amśumān, the son of Asamañjasa and grandson of the king, being then sent on the same mission, had it prudently executed.

4 Mbh. Chaps. CVI and CVII of Vanaparva: also see chaps. CVIII and CIX.

5 Vishṇu Purāṇa, Bk. 4, Ch. 4.

the names of Sarvakāma, his son Sudāsa, his son Saudāsa, named also Mitrasaha, the husband of Madayanti, his son Aśmaka, born for Vasishṭha, his son Mūlaka, his son Daśaratha, his son Ilvala, and his son Viśvasaha, about whom nothing of importance is said in the Purāṇas, verse 23 introduces king Dilīpa, the second of that name, who, in a war between the Dēvas and Asuras, helped the former and vanquished the latter. The four descendants of Dilīpa viz. Dīrghabāhu, Raghu, Aja and Daśaratha are passed over; but Rāma and his brothers Lakshmaṇa, Bharata and Śatrughna, who together formed the incarnation of Vishṇu, as well as Śibi are mentioned as having been born in the solar race to relieve the world from the afflictions caused by the wicked demons (v. 24). In verses 25 to 27, the characteristic feature of this *avatār* i. e. the establishment of *dharma*, is finely portrayed, reference being made at the same time to the killing of Rāvaṇa and the construction of a dam across the ocean. Says the writer of the *praśasti* "He (i. e. Rāma) did not kill the lord of the demons out of anger; neither did he take back Sīta out of passion. But he did them for the sake of *dharma* only. If not, why did he destroy the unoffending Śūdra that was performing penance on the Malaya mountain and abandon again Sīta of established constancy."

So far, the composer of the *praśasti* has pursued the history of the solar race mentioning the principal kings of the line starting from the very time of creation up to the advent of Rāma and narrating the chief incidents connected with their reigns. We see from this account, which mainly follows the Harivaṁśa and the Purāṇas, that Purukutsa was the first sovereign of the solar dynasty to advance as far as the Narmadā; that during the days of Sagara, the country stretching on the eastern side as far as the Bay of Bangal was explored; and that during the reign of Bhagīratha, the source of the river Ganges was traced. The pedigree of the solar line, with the names of the kings mentioned in this record printed in fat type is given below (App. I).

From verse 28 the chronicler commences to handle the quasi-historical portion of the Chōḷa annals. Of the eponymous Chōḷa, he gives more detailed information than are to be met with in the hitherto available authorities for Chōḷa history. In what looks like an episode adapted from the Rāmāyaṇa, the account runs that king Chōḷa, who loved games (v. 28) and made the forests,— abounding in sages and affording enough sports and seclusion,— his pleasure garden (v. 29), roamed in the woods desirous of hunting deer; and being allured by a demon who appeared before him in the form of an antilope, he wended his way southwards to a jungle, (v. 30) followed by the commanders of his army mounted on fleet steeds (v. 31). There, he killed the demon-antilope, bathed in the nectar-like water of the *Kāvērī* (v. 32), looked for Brāhmaṇas to bestow gifts and finding none, made a fresh settlement of them, brought from the Āryāvarta (v. 33). And clearing the ground of forest, planted, on the banks of the river, extensive groves of areca-palms and betel-vines (v. 34). Verse 35 states that ablutions and penance made on the banks of the Kāvērī secure for the virtuous a more exalted place in the abode of the gods than that to which they could reach by the performance of the same on the banks of the Ganges.

It cannot now be said how and when the Chōḷa kingdom was founded; neither is it possible to state whether the country and its tribe came to be called after the king or the reverse was the order. Purāṇic accounts invariably point to

the conclusion that countries were named after kings e. g. Vaṅga, Aṅga, Kaliṅga, Suhma and Puṇḍra etc., were the earliest kings of the respective kingdoms. In consonance with the above, our record introduces king Chōḷa and speaks of him as clearing the forest and settling a number of Brāhmaṇa families brought from the Āryāvarta, in the jungle tracts, watered by the sacred river Kāvērī, thus laying the foundation of a new kingdom which must have been thenceforward known by the name Chōḷa. The anecdote about the Rajanichara-antilope might indicate that the original inhabitants of this region were Rākshasas and that a few Rishis had penetrated the southern fastnesses and established their hermitages there even prior to the advent of king Chōḷa. Similarly we find in the genealogy furnished in Pallava copper-plates that the originator of that family was a certain Pallava. Kātyāyana's view that one sprung from an individual of the Chōḷa tribe as well as the king of their country should be called Chōḷa, would, on the other hand lead to the inference that the term Chōḷa was first applied to the tribe and then to the country and its king. This conception, if pushed further, would indicate the indigenous growth of kingdoms and not colonisation from without. Whatever might be the origin, there is no doubt regarding the antiquity of the Chōḷa kingdom.

The earliest epigraphical reference to the Chōḷa country is contained in the second and thirteenth rock edicts of the Buddhist emperor Aśōka who flourished in the third century B. C. The former records that the Maurya sovereign provided medicines for men and animals not only in his own kingdom but also in the frontier dominions of which the Chōḷa was one. In the latter edict, which registers his conquest of Kalinga and promulgates an order regarding security to all creatures, respect for life, peace and kindliness in behaviour, we are given to understand that the people of the Chōḷa country respected Buddhist morals. Notice of the Chōḷa country is also made in the *Periplus Maris Erythrae* and Ptolemy. According to the Purāṇas, the Chōḷa territory was one among the several situated in the Dakshiṇāpatha.

Verse 36 notes that Rājakēsari was the son of king Chōḷa. Then follows a damaged portion from which nothing more could be made out than that Parakēsarivarman was the son of this king. It is a point worthy of note that our inscription omits to register the important fact recorded in the Leyden grant and the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates, that Chōḷa kings assumed the titles Rājakēsari and Parakēsari alternately at the time of their coronation. Mention is made, in verses 33 to 46, of Mṛityujit,[1] who conquered death; Vīrasēna; Chitra *alias* Vyāghrakētu,[2] who obtained Indra in his banner; Pushpakētu of beautiful limbs; Kētumāla, who indulged in taking the flags of enemy kings; Samudrajit, who joined the two seas;[3] Pañchapa[4] who, by cutting open five arteries of his body, fed with blood

1 *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* probably refers to this king by the passage *Kālaṉukk-iḍu-vaḷakkeṉav-urait-tav-avaṉ*" and *Vikkiramaśōḷaṉ-ulā* by the words "*Kūṟṟukku-ttēṟa-vaḷakk-uraitta Śembi-yaṉ.*"

2 Vyāghrakētu is spoken of in the *Kaliṅgattupparṇi* as "*Puliyeṉak-koḍiyil-Indiraṉai-vaittavaṉ*".

3 Compare with "*Puṉariy-oṉṟiṉiḍaiy-oṉṟu-pugaviṭṭavaṉ*" of *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* and "*mēl-kaḍalil-viṅgu-nīr kīḻ-kaḍalil-viṭṭōṉum*" of *Vikkiramaśōḷaṉ-ulā*.

4 In the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*, Pañchapa is referred to by the words "*Valiyiṉiṟ-kuruḍiy-uṉkeṉav-aḷittavaṉ.*"

five Yakshas; Nrimrida, the conqueror of Death; and Manōratha. These names are not traceable in any of the Purāṇas. But as they are mentioned in the large Leyden grant,[1] the Tiruvālangāḍu plates,[1] *Kalingattupparaṇi* and other Tamiḻ works of varying dates, one will be almost inclined to believe that they are not fictitious personages, but are real characters that have left marks of their existence in the country. It is not possible to declare either that they are real characters borrowed from life, since it is quite likely, that some one of the early annalists invented these names and adopted them in the Chōḷa genealogy, and the chroniclers that came after, simply followed the earlier account.

As a prelude to what follows it is necessary to note that no continuous dynastic account of the Chōḷas prior to the 9th century A. D., when Vijayālaya started a new, or revived the old, line with his capital at Tanjore, is given in any of the authorities for Chōḷa history that have been brought to light so far. However, a few of the members of the earlier line are mentioned by name in inscriptions on stone and copper as well as in Tamiḻ works like *Kalingattupparaṇi* which attempt to give the pedigree of the Chōḷas. The irregular way in which these few persons figure in the various authorities, shows that at the time when the later charters of the Chōḷas were drawn up even the order in which the earlier sovereigns ruled was forgotten and that there were no written records or State papers to indicate the succession of kings of their time. For instance while the Tiruvālangāḍu plates place Kiḷḷi at the head, Karikāla in the middle and Kōchcheṅgaṇṇāṉ at the end, the Leyden grant mentions Karikāla first, Kochcheṅgaṇṇāṉ in the middle and lastly Kiḷḷi. A third order is followed in the *Kalingattupparaṇi* which mentions Kiḷḷi first, Kōchcheṅgaṉ in the middle, and Karikāla afterwards. The Kanyākumari record under review differs from all these and strikes an entirely new line, giving the names of three additional sovereigns, by omitting Kōchcheṅgaṇṇāṉ, and by mentioning them in the following order *viz.* Perunatkiḷḷi, Karikāla, Vaḷabha, Jagadēkamalla and Vyāḷabhayaṅkara. In spite of the dearth of information in inscriptions about these early sovereigns, there is yet another source *viz.* that contained in the early Tamiḻ works of what is called the *śaṅgam* period which throw light on the past history of Southern India or at least of the Tamiḻ country.

1 Here are the verses that speak of these persons:--

मृत्युजित्—

तद्वंशे सुरगुरुस्तवैरिवर्गो राजेन्द्रो रविकुलकेतुराविरासीत् ।
यो जित्वा रणभुवि मृत्युमप्यजय्यं दुष्प्रापामलभत मृत्युजित्समाख्याम् ॥ Leyden grant.

व्याघ्रकेतु:—

व्याघ्रकेतुरभवत्तदन्वये वैरिवारणमृगाधिपो नृप: । Leyden grant.
व्याघ्रकेतुरिति चित्ररथोभूद्व्याघ्रवद्ध्वजपट: क्षितिनाथ: ।
तत्कुले प्रथितविक्रमराशिर्धातकीकुसुमभूषितमौलि: ॥ Tiruvalaṅgāḍu plates.

पञ्चप:—

पञ्चपोऽजनि तदन्वये वली पार्थिवोऽर्थिजनकल्पपादप: । Leyden grant.
जितपञ्चशरो वपुर्गुणैर्विजयी पञ्चप इत्युदीरित: ।
अधिपं च दिवो विडम्बयन् समभूत्तत्कुलभूषणं नृप: ॥ Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates.

Now we turn to our inscription to see what information it gives about the kings that preceded the founder of the revived Chōḷa line *i. e.* Vijayālaya.

Verse 47 states that there were many kings in the Chōḷa family who were equal to the highly powerful and prosperous Perunatkiḷḷi. It will be useful to note here that the Tamiḻ *śaṅgam* work *Puṟanānūṟu* mentions more persons than one who bore the name Kiḷḷi. One of these kings, Śōḻaṉ Kuḷamuṟṟattu-tuñjiṉa-Kiḷḷi-vaḷavaṉ laid seige to Karuvūr and conquered the Chera king of his day. No less than eleven poets, including Kōvūrkiḻār, composed verses in his honour. This poet is the author of certain stanzas which are believed to speak of Kāriyāṟṟu-tuñjiṉa-Neḍunkiḷḷi of Uṟaiyūr, of his friend Iḷandattaṉ, and of Śōḻaṉ Kurāppaḷḷi-tuñjiṉa-Kiḷḷivaḷavaṉ, the destroyer of Karuvūr. Another bard of the time of Kurāppaḷḷi-tuñjiṉa-Kiḷḷivaḷavaṉ is the author of certain other stanzas in the same collection which are said to refer to Śōḻaṉ Ilavandigai-ppaḷḷi-tuñjiṉa-Naḷaṅkiḷḷi Śeṭcheṉṉi, the contemporary of Neḍuṅkiḷḷi and of Ēnādi-Tirukkiḷḷi. It thus appears that all these Kiḷḷis belonged to the same time or, at any rate, were not far removed from each other in point of time. The contemporaneity of the bards and the kings whom they celebrated, is assumed in the work under reference and there is nothing to discredit it.

It is not unlikely that many of the kings whose names are noted above were members of the royal line and that they figured largely in the wars undertaken by the reigning king. The principal event of the time was the war with the Chēras and their defeat at Karuvūr.

Another Chōḷa sovereign celeberated in the Tamiḻ literature is Rājasūyam-vēṭṭa-Perunaṟkiḷḷi, who may be identical with the king of that name referred to as the ancestor of the Chōḷas in the large Leyden grant, the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates, the Udayēndiram charter of Pṛithivīpati II and of the Kanyākumari inscription. He is credited with having defeated the Chōḷa king Māndarañchēral-Irumpoṟai, who was the lord of the Kolli mountain who freed the village of Viḷaṅgil, who was the friend of the poet Kapilar and who was taken captive by the Pāṇḍya king Talaiyālaṅgāṉattu-śeru-veṉṟa Neḍuñjeḻiyaṉ and was subsequently set at liberty. There were other kings also who bore the name Perunatkiḷḷi. These are Muḍit-talaikkō-Perunaṟkiḷḷi, whose Chēra contemporary was Śēramāṉ-Anduvaṉchēral-Irumpoṟai; and Vēṟpahraḍakkai-Perunaṟkiḷḷi, who claimed to have slain Kuḍakkō-Neḍuñchēral-Āthaṉ. The relation-ship that existed between the various Kiḷḷis is not stated anywhere but as the performanace of the ceremony indicates, Rājasūyam-vēṭṭa Purunaṟkiḷḷi may be considered to have been the most powerful of all. The Tamiḻ work Maṇimēgalai reveals the name of another Chōḷa sovereign Veṉṟivēṟ-kiḷḷi who is said to have married or kept as concubine the Nāga princess Pīlivaḷai, the daughter of Vaḷaivaṇaṉ.

Evident traces of the rule of the Kiḷḷis are found in the Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts in such place names as Kiḷinallūr Nalaṅkiḷḷinallūr, Kiḷḷikuḍi etc.

The following table shows at sight that the seven kings mentioned in the above paragraph are contemporaries, elder or younger. The poet Kōvūrkiḻār connects numbers 1, 2, & 3 with No. 4 while the bard Kōṉāṭṭu Erichchalūr Māḍilaṉ Madiraikkumaraṉ connects numbers 5, 6, & 7 with No. 4.

I.

1 Iḷandattaṉ. 2 Kāriyāṟṟu-tuṉjiṉa-Neḍuṅkiḷḷi. 3 Śōḻaṉ Kuḷamuṟṟattu-tuñjiṉa-Kiḷḷivaḷavaṉ.	Kōvūrkiḻār	4 Śōḻaṉ Kurāppaḷḷi-tuñjiṉa-Kiḷḷivaḷavaṉ.	Kōṉāṭṭu Erichchalūr-Māḍilaṉ Madiraikku-maraṉ.	5 Śōḻaṉ Ilavandigaippaḷḷi-tuñjiṉa Nalaṅkiḷḷi. 6 Neḍunkiḷḷi. 7 Ēnādi Tirukkiḷḷi.

II.

Rājasūyam-vēṭṭa-Perunatkiḷḷi	×	Māndarañchēral *or* Yāṉaikkaṭchēy-Māndarañchēral Irumboṟai and Śēra-māṉ Māveṉkō.	×	Talaiyālaṅgāṉattu-Śeruveṉṟa-Neḍuñjeḻiyaṉ. and Ugra-Peruvaḻudi.

If the commonly accepted view that the authors of the stanzas embodied in the collection known as *Puṟanānūṟu* were contemporaries of the kings celebrated by them—a view which is based largely upon the note, entered at the end of each stanza—is correct, there is every possibility of fixing the dates when some of the kings flourished.

The data obtained from these works for fixing the time of the Chōḷa king Rājasūyamvēṭṭa-Perunaṟkiḷḷi are:—

i. That he defeated the Chēra king Yāṉaikkaṭchēy-Māndarañchēral-Irumboṟai.

ii. That this Chēra sovereign Yāṉaikkaṭchēy was put in prison, and subsequently set at liberty, by the Pāṇḍya king Neḍuñjeḻiyaṉ, the victor in the battle of Talaiyālaṅgāṉam.

iii. That this Pāṇḍya was a lineal descendant of Palśālai-Mudukuḍumi-Peruvaḻudi according to Maduraikkāñchi of Māṅguḍi-Marudaṉār.

iv. That Nakkīrar was one of the poets that celebrated the fame of this Neḍuñjeḻiyaṉ.

v. That the same poet Nakkīrar is credited with having written a commentary in which he had composed a number of stanzas in exemplification of the rules of Agapporuḷ. The stanzas are more than 300 and record the achievements of another Pāṇḍya king of his day, called Neḍumāṟaṉ or Māṟaṉ (a shortened form of Māṟavarman).

vi. That this commentary (1) speaks of conquests effected by Neḍumāṟaṉ in a number of battle-fields among which are Nelvēli, Śeṉṉilam and Pāḻi; (2) states that his principal foes were the Chēras and (3) that there was a severe famine in the country in his time.

These six points are of great importance, and appear to be sufficient, to fix the date of Rājasūyamvēṭṭa-Perunaṟkiḷḷi, as will be seen from the sequel.

The Vēḷvikkuḍi copper-plates whose contents have been noticed in the Madras Epigraphist's Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1908, furnish the following genealogy of the early sovereigns of Madura:—

1 Pāṇḍya Palyāgaśālai Mudukuḍumi-Peruvaḻudi.
  : 2 Kaḷabhra inter-regnum.
3 Kaḍuṅgōṉ.
  |
4 Māṟavarman.
  |
5 Śeḻiyaṉ Śēndaṉ.
  |
6 Māṟavarman (Arikēsari, Asamasaman), who won victories in the battles of Nelvēli, Śennilam and Pāḻi.
  |

7 Śaḍaiyaṉ, who fought the battle of Marudūr.

8 Tēr-māṟaṉ, who defeated the Pallavas; married a Gaṅga princess and subdued Maḻakoṅgam.

9 Parāntaka Neḍunjaḍaiyaṉ whose minister was Madhurakavi also called Madhuratara, Māraṉkāri and Mūvēndamaṅgalappēraraiyaṉ.

At Āṉaimalai near Madura has been found a stone inscription of No. 9. That record[1] is dated in Kali 3871 (= A. D. 769-70) in the reign of Parāntaka Śaḍaiyaṉ and mentions the king's minister Madhurakavi *alias* Māraṅkāri *alias* Mūvēndamaṅgalappēraraiyaṉ, thus leaving absolutely no doubt as regards the identity of the king and his minister, with No. 9 and his minister of the Vēḷvikkuḍi plates. The only thing that could be said and that has to be said is, that the minister was living in the 3rd year of the king's reign when the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant was issued but was dead at the time of the Āṉaimalai record dated in 770 A. D.

It would be safe to view therefore that A. D. 770 fell not in the commencement of the king's reign but perhaps at the middle or end. Provisionally taking A. D. 770 to be the last year of No. 9 and assigning a reign of 30 years to each king we get for No. 5 A. D. 650-680. Now taking the last item i. e., vi. of the data, it does not require much intelligence on one's part to say that Nakkīrar's celebrity i. e. Māṟaṉ who gained victories in the battles of Nelvēli, Śennilam and Pāḻi is identical with No. 6 of Vēḷvikkuḍi pedigree who was also a Māṟavarman and the victor in the very same battles *viz.* Nelvēli, Śennilam and Pāḻi. Nakkīrar has, therefore, to be considered as having flourished in the period A. D. 650-80,—the date of rule of this king. It must be noted that the verses composed in commemoration of the exploits of Neḍumāṟaṉ should form part of the original scheme of the commentary of Nakkīrar.[2]

Now we shall see how far the results we have obtained are confirmed by other sources. Śēkkiḻār, the author of the Tamiḻ work Periyapurāṇam, states that the Śaiva saint Jñānasambandha had for his contemporary the Pāṇḍya king Neḍumāṟaṉ, who had acquired lasting fame by a brilliant victory won in the battle of

1 See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII. pp. 319ff. The wording of the inscription is कलेः सहस्रात्रितयेऽब्दगोचरे गतेष्टशत्यामपि सैकसप्तसौ; अकृत कृती मधुरकविर्म्मधुरतरो मारसूनुरिदम्। मन्त्री स एव मतिमान्पाण्ड्यस्य परान्तकाभिधानस्य ॥ கோமாறஞ்சடையற்கு உத்தரமந்திரி களக்குடி வைத்ய மூவேந்தமங்கலப்பேரரையன் ஆகிய மாறங்காரி இக்கற்றளி செய்து நீர்த்தளியாதேய் வழு-ஊராவொராணைஞ் செய்த பின்னை.

2 Without these stanzas, the commentary is not worth its name; and it will even fail in its object. Though in a work of this kind there is room for admitting any number of stanzas from various authors there is no need to suppose, as is sometimes done, that the verses about Neḍumāṟaṉ cited in Nakkīrar's commentary illustrating the text of Agapporuḷ did not form part of the author's work. That such a view would be quite unnatural is clear from the fact that these verses form the bulk of the commentary and are essential to it as has already been shown. Here and there a few stanzas might have been inserted in later times and these will be apparent to any careful reader. It may be said that by expunging these later additions, the commentary would not suffer in the least; but it is not the case if we remove the stanzas about Neḍumāṟaṉ, because it will materially and seriously affect the commentary.

Nelvēli; and that the Pallava king of his day was he who gained success in the field of Vātāpī' i. e. Narasiṁhavarman. The time of this Pallava king and his Vātāpī battle has been accepted to be the middle of the 7th century A. D., a fact which proves the correctness of the date of Māṟaṉ, the victor of Nelvēli, and the hero celebrated by Nakkīrar in his commentary on Iṟaiyaṉār Agapporuḷ. Jñānasambandha and his biographer Śēkkiḻār might be cited further to vouchsafe the truth of another fact relating to the time of Neḍumāṟaṉ embodied in the same commentary, viz, the existence of a famine.

Both Periyapurāṇam and the Dēvāram hymns of Jñānasambandha bear testimony to the fact that there was a severe famine in the country in the middle of the 7th century A. D. It is reported in the former work that the two Śaiva saints Appar and Jñānasambandha were sorely afflicted with the thought of feeding the hosts of religious men that followed them in their peregrinations, that they were given each a gold *kāśu* from the temple at Tiruvīḻimiḻalai the place of their sojourn. A short hymn on that place composed by Jñānasambandha strangely enough echoes the same fact.

In this connection we have also to point out that the prevalence of famine in Southern India in the middle of the 7th century A. D. receives confirmation from another independent source. *Hwui-li* records that the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang who visited India about that period and reached as far south as Conjeeveram, was prevented from proceeding further to Malakūṭa owing to the outbreak of a draught in that place.

This faithful reflection of the condition of South India or more particularly of its southern extremity, in the records left by foreign travellers, is a most convincing proof that adds strength to the account preserved in the *Periyapurāṇam* and the commentary on *Iṟaiyaṉār Agapporuḷ*. There is thus no doubt that the king represented in the last work *i. e.* Māṟaṉ or Neḍumāṟaṉ is identical with the one of the same name (*i. e.* Nelvēli-pōr-veṉṟa-niṉṟaśīr-Neḍumāṟan) who was the contemporary of the Śaiva saint Jñānasambandha and with No. 6 Māṟavarman the lineal descendant of Palyāgaśālai-Mudukuḍimi-Peruvaḻudi and the son of Śeḻiyaṉ. It is easy to perceive that Nakkīrar, the contemporary of king Māṟavarman, perhaps in the early part of the latter's reign, could well have been the contemporary of the king's father Śeḻiyan or Neduñ-Jeḻiyan, as he is called in Tamil works, just as Māṟaṉ is called Neḍumāṟan; and as such, there is every likelihood of his having written the verses in praise of Neḍuñjeḻiyan as well as of his successor Neḍumāṟaṉ.

The genealogy furnished in the Vēḷvikkuḍi plates and the facts stated therein about the kings, therefore, support strongly the tradition and literary evidence regarding the contemporaneity of Nakkīrar with (1) Neḍuñjeḻiyan, the victor in the battle of Talaiyālaṅgānam and the hero of the poems Neḍunalvāḍai and Maduraikkāñchi; and with (2) Neḍumāṟan, the victor in the battles of Nelvēli, Śennilam and Pāḻi and the hero celebrated in the verses embodied in the commentary on Iṟaiyanār-Agapporuḷ; and thus furnish the date A. D. 620-650 roughly for the Chōḻa king Rājasūyam-vēṭṭa-Perunaṟkiḷḷi and many of the celebrities of the last *śangam* period.

Verses 48 and 49 introduce Karikāla, whose fame had spread far and wide and who, in order to prevent the inundation of the Kāvērī and the destruction

caused by it to crops and lands on either bank, erected a bund formed of earth, carried and thrown in baskets by enemy kings.

Students of Chōḷa history know very well that there were more kings than one who bore the name Karikāla;[1] but there is no fear of mistaking, on this account, the king who is referred to in the verses just quoted, for any other than the first of that name and it will be pointed out in the sequel that there is no room for entertaining any reasonable doubt in this connection. Before proceeding to discuss the events of the period to which Karikāla belonged, we may just note that the name Karikāla occurs sometimes in the slightly altered form Kalikāla. Two epigraphs of the Telugu-Chōḷa chief Tammusiddhi[2] and the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates of Rājēndra-Chōḷa I[3] substitute Kalikāla for Karikāla. In either case, the name is significant, denoting, as it does, the king 'who was Death to the Kali-age', 'who was Death to the elephants (i. e. the forces of hostile kings)', or 'who had a charred leg'. The last carries with it a tradition that Karikāla came to be so called because he had his legs burnt.[4]

The wars waged and the battles won by this king seem to have greatly enriched and extended his dominion and brought in prosperity. The persons that lived at the time did not fail to notice his military exploits. In fact, in the compositions of the poets of his day, we find his deeds extolled in measured lines which prove the greatness of his fame, the splendour of his court and the wealth of his dominion. A glowing description of the Chōḷa territory and of its capital Kāvirippūmpaṭṭiṇam is given in the Tamiḻ idyll *Paṭṭiṇappālai* which has been translated in the pages of the *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XLI, pp. 146ff. Some of the king's achievements were only of ephemeral or local importance as for example his fight with the neighbouring Chēra and Pāṇḍya powers and the subjugation of other potentates of the Tamiḻ country[5] though they should have been highly valued at the time. In the *Rājapārampariyam* of the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*, certain stanzas refer to the achievements of Karikāla-Chōḷa.[6] Some of these facts find mention in the *Vikkiramaśōḻaṉulā* also. It is stated that Karikāla caused the Himalaya mountain to whirl round; that he engraved the tiger mark on it; that he made the subjugated kings to build the embankment of the Kāvērī; that he won a battle at Kurumi; and that he bestowed on the author

1 According to two Telugu-Chōḷa inscriptions, Karikāla had a grandson who was also named Karikāla (Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1900 p. 17). Āditya II son of Sundara-Chōḷa *alias* Parāntaka II was known as Karikāla. The third king that born the name was Vīrarājēndra I (*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III p. 198). It was during the reign of this last sovereign that the Kanyākumari record was engraved. Therein also he is called Karikāla.

2 See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII. pp. 119ff. and 148ff.

3 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III. p. 418.

4 At the end of the commentary of Nachchinārkkiniyār on *Porunarāṟṟuppaḍai* is found the following stanzas:—

முச்சக் கரமு மளப்பதற்கு நீட்டியகா
லிச்சக் கரமே யளந்ததாற் செய்ச்செ
யரிகான்மேற் றேன்றொடுக்கு மாப்புனனீர் நாடன்
கரிகாலன் கானெருப் புற்று.

5 These are given in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XLI, pp. 146ff.

6 See verses 1, 20 and 21, which are reproduced below, p. 105, foot-note 1.

of *Paṭṭiṇappālai* 1,600,000 gold pieces for his composition.[1] Though many were the achievements of Karikāla, the events that proved to be above passing interest were two, of which the more important was the construction of the Kāvērī embankment, which he caused to be put up to prevent the destruction of crops and lands during floods. He was almost the first sovereign to attend to this need. There are reasons to believe that this must have been done during the close of his eventful reign.[2] *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* makes it certain that the king who constructed the embankment to the Kāvērī was the very sovereign in whose honour *Paṭṭiṇappālai* was composed. In other words, it establishes the identity of the Karikāla of the *śaṅgam* works with the Karikāla who is reported in inscriptions to have built the Kāvērī bund. This being the most useful service rendered to humanity, posterity never failed to recognise it and to mention the same in their writings.

Accordingly, we find it noticed in the *Vikkramaśōḷaṉ-ulā*,[3] *Śaṅkaraśōḷaṉ-ulā* and others, as well as in the copper-plate charters of the Chōḷas[4] and the

1 செண்டுகொண்டு கரிகாலனொருகாலிமயச்
சிமய மால்வரை திரித்தருளி * * * * * *
* * * * * * மேரு முதுகிற்
பாய்புலிக் குறி பொறித்தது மறிந்தபொழுதே

தொழுதுமன்னரே கரைசெய்பொன்னியிற்
தத்துநீர்வரால் குருமி வென்றதுந்
தழுவு செந்தமிழ் பரிசில் வாணர் பொன்
பத்தொடாறுநூறாயிரம் பெறப்
பண்டு பட்டினப் பாலை கொண்டதும். Kaliṅgattupparaṇi.

தெவ்வருவிச்
சென்னி புலியேறிருத்திக் கிரிதிரித்துப்
பொன்னிக் கரைகண்ட பூபதியும். Vikkiramaśōḷan-ulā.

2 This is perhaps the reason why it is not mentioned in the works composed during his life time such as *Paṭṭiṇappālai*.

3 See foot-note 1 above.

4 The Leyden grant refers to it in these words:–

अरिकालो महीपालः करिकालस्तदन्वये ।
आविरासीदसौ चक्रे कावेरीतीरबन्धनम् ॥

(p. 206 of Arch. Survey of Southern India Vol. IV.):

and the Tiruvālangāḍu plates have:

कालत्वात्करिणां कलेश्च सकलक्षोणिभृतां नायकं
यं प्राहुः कलिकालमुन्नतिमतामग्रेसरं सद्गुणैः ।
काञ्चीं यश्च नवीचकार कनकैस्सोभूदमुष्यान्वये
कावेरीतटबन्धनप्रकटितस्फीतात्मकीर्तिर्नृपः ॥

(p. 395 of Vol. III. of *South-Indian Inscriptions*.)

Telugu Chōḷas.[1] Certain early epigraphs on stone and metal, belonging to the Chōḷas[2] of the Telugu country, of about the 8th century A. D., also refer to the event.

The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates of the time of Rājēndra-Chōḷa I gives the valuable information that Karikāla made the town of Kāñchī new with gold.[3] Karikāla's connection with Kāñchī is known even otherwise. A stone inscription states that he ruled from that place.[4] The interest taken by the king in improving the city which as we know was the capital of the Pallavas from the earliest times, proves beyond question that he acquired it by conquest. Perhaps he wanted to it his strong-hold. From the Telugu-Chōḷa inscriptions we learn that the Pallava contemporary of Karikāla was Trilōchana-Pallava and that the latter was one of those kings that were subordinate to him and helped in the construction of the Kāvērī bund.[5] The passage in question runs thus:—

Charaṇa-sarōruha-vihita-vilōchana-Trilōchana-pramukh-ākhila-prithivīśvara-kārita-tīra.

This information corroborates and suppliments what is registered in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates. The Chellūr plates of Vīra-Chōḷa and the Raṇastipūṇḍi grant of Vimalāditya state of Vijayāditya, the founder of the Western Chalukyas of Bādāmī, that he fought with Trilōchana-Pallava and died.[6] Thus it appears that the three kings Karikāla, Vijayāditya and Trilōchana-Pallava lived at the same time.

The Western Chalukya chronology as settled by Dr. Fleet would yield for Vijayāditya the founder of the line, a place at the end of the 5th century A. D.

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1 An inscription of Tammusiddhi (Ep. Ind. Vol. VII. p. 123) reads:

तत्कुले कलिकालोभूत् कावेरीतीरकृन्नृपः ।
यत्केलियष्टितुलिते मेरौ व्यतिकृता दिशः ॥

and another of the same king (Ibid. p. 150) has it in a slightly altered form thus:

तस्मिन्कुले समभवत्कलिकालचोलो वीरः कवेरतनयां तटिनीं विधाता ।
यत्केलियष्टिपरिघट्टितमात्र एव मेरुश्चलन्व्यतिकरं हरितां चकार ॥

With the latter part of the two verses compare 'செண்டுகொண்டு கரிகாலனொரு காலிமயச்சிமய மால்வரை திரித்தருளி' of the *Kalingattuparaṇi* and 'தென்னருவிச்சென்னி புலியேறிருத்திக்கிரி திரித்து' of the *Vikkiramasōḻanula*.

2 The Puṇyakumāra plates (Ep. Ind. Vol. XI. p. 345) read:

दिनकरकुलमन्दराचलमन्दारपादपस्यकवेरतनयावेलोल्लंघनप्रशमनप्रमुखाधनेकातिशयकारिणः त्रैराज्य-स्थितिमात्मसात्कृतवतः करिकालस्यान्वये काश्यपगोत्रः नन्दिवर्मा नाम नृपतिरभवत् .

3 See foot-note 5 above.

4 Annual Report on epigraphy for 1900, p. 17 para 46.

5 Ibid para 44 and Ep. ind Vol. XI p. 40 foot-note 2.

6 तद्वंश्यो विजयादित्यनामा राजा विजिगीषया दक्षिणापथं
गत्वा त्रिलोचनपल्लवमधिक्षिप्य दैवदुरीहया लोकान्तरमगमत्

(S. I. I. Vol. I. pp. 49ff. and Ep. Ind. Vol. VI., pp. 352).

Karikāla, being a contemporary of Trilōchana-Pallava and Vijayāditya, has therefore been assigned the same date.[1]

An important fact revealed in the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates is the capture of Kāñchī attributed to Kumāravishṇu I,[2] which shows beyond doubt that the very capital of the Pallavas was lost by one of Kumāravishṇu's ancestors, probably by his immediate predecessor on the throne and it confirms the account given about Karikāla with regard to the occupation of Kāñchī. Kumāravishṇu I must have driven back the Chōḷas and got possession of his capital; else, there is not much significance in the boast of a Pallava king capturing his own capital. The Pallava chronology would only support the date assigned to Karikāla, for between the father of Kumāravishṇu I and Siṁhavishṇu (A. D. 580) there were only four generations,[3] which could have covered a period of 100 years.

In the following three verses (vv. 50—52), kings Vaḷabha, Jagadēkamalla and Vyāḷabhayaṅkara are introduced. Of these, Vaḷabha is referred to in the large Leyden plates where, however, he is mentioned as the son of Muchukunda.[4] The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates state that Vaḷabha founded the city of Vaḷabhi.[5] Jagadēkamalla appears as a distinct Western Chalukya title in later times. But since we know that some of the Chōḷas of the Telugu country, who trace their descent from Karikāla, bore Pallava and Western Chalukya titles,[6] it is not unlikely that this Jagadēkamalla was a member of that branch of the Chōḷas. Vyāḷabhayaṅkara is entirely new to history. Perhaps he was also one of the same line.

Verses 53 and 54 speak of Vijayālaya, the founder of the revived Chōḷa line at Tanjore. While the Kanyākumari record states that he constructed the town of Tañchāpurī, the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates hint that he captured it.[7] The latter information appears to be more correct as the existence and importance of the town in earlier times is clearly proved by the epigraphs on the Śendalai pillars. It is fairly certain that Vijayālaya should have taken Tanjore from a member of the Muttaraiyan kings, one of whom *i. e.* Perumbiḍugu Muttaraiyan of the 8th century called himself king of Tanjore.[8] It is worthy of note that not a single inscription of any Chōḷa king prior to the time of Vijayālaya for over a

1 In. Ep. Ind. Vol. XI p. 340 M. R. Ry. Rao Sahib. H. Krishna Sastri correcting a small error in my paper on Karikāla contributed to the *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XLI. pp. 146ff. *viz.* of identifying Vijayāditya with the grandson, instead of the founder of the Western Chalukya line, writes on the date thus: "It may be presumed that the three kings Karikāla, Vijayāditya and Trilōchana-pallava were almost contemporaries. From the account given in the Eastern Chalukya copper-plates, it appears as if five generations had passed between Vijayāditya and Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana before the latter came to rule over the Vēṅgidēśa and founded the Eastern Chalukya dynasty, in or about A. D. 615. Calculating backwards for five generations we arrive at the conclusion that Vijayāditya, and therefore also Trilōchana-Pallava and Karikāla, must have flourished about the end of the fifth century A. D."

2 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol II. page 510.

3 See *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII. pp. 233ff. and *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, p. 33.

4 *Archaeological Survey of Southern India*, Vol. IV. p. 206, text-lines 11 and 12.

5 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, p. 415. v. 18.

6 The Pallava names Nandivarman, *Siṁhavishṇu*, Mahēndravikrama, and the Western Chalukya name Vikramāditya occur as surnames or names of these kings: See page 48 of the Madras Epigraphist's report for 1905.

7 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III. page 418, verse 45.

8 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XIII. p. 136.

century has yet been traced in the ancient Chōḷa territory which comprised the Tanjore and Trichinapoly districts. As has been said already, we have direct evidence to show that it was ruled by the Muttaraiyans in the 8th century A. D. The existence of an epigraph of Varaguṇa-Pāṇḍya in the Trichinopoly cave[1] and a few others[2] in the Tanjore district, coupled with the fact that Varaguṇa-Mahārāja was encamped at Araiśūr on the Pennar river (South Arcot discrict) in Toṇḍai-nāḍu while he made a gift to the temple at Ambāsamudram[3] clearly indicate that the Pāṇḍyas had occupied the ancient Chōḷa territory and were striving hard to take possession of the southern portion of the Pallava dominion also. There are grounds for thinking that the kingdoms of the Pāṇḍyas and Pallavas adjoined each other and that the Muttaraiyans allied themselves with one party or the other[4] in the 8th century A. D. and the earlier part of the 9th. Before the establishment by Vijayālaya of a new dynasty of Chōḷas at Tanjore, the Chōḷas must have held a subordinate position under the Pallavas. In this connection, the statement of the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates of Nandivarman, the grandson of Pallavamalla, that the *vijñapti* of the grant registered in them was a certain Chōḷa-Mahārāja, is worth remembering. That this person was not a private individual but was one holding an influential position and authority is made clear by the description given of him. It is said that he was the heroic head-jewel of the Chōḷa race, that the glory of his prowess was well known, that his liberality was that of Karṇa and that his conduct upright.[5] His proper name was Kumārāṅkuśa. Nandivarman, in whose reign this Chōḷa-Mahārāja Kumārāṅkuśa flourished, was not far removed in point of time from Vijayālaya. While Nandivarman was the grandson of Pallavamalla, who flourished in about the end of the 8th century A. D., Vijayālaya was the grandfather of Parāntaka I, whose accession took place in A. D. 907. If Vijayālaya came of the same family as the Chōḷa-Mahārāja Kumārāṅkuśa, it is very likely that he was the grandson of his. No upstart could have commanded what needed to establish a new line, and in a short time to uproot a reigning dynasty. In all likelihood, therefore, the very Chōḷas who held a subordinate position under the Pallavas should have seized a fitting opportunity to throw off the yoke of submission and to proclaim their independence. Such an opportunity presented itself in the middle of the 9th century A. D., when the Pāṇḍyas were pressing hard against the Pallavas. During the first half of the ninth century, the Pāṇḍya country was ruled by Varaguṇa-Mahārāja and his son Śrīmāra-Parachakrakōlāhala.[6] And since it is said that this Varaguṇa-Mahārāja was once encamped at Araiśūr on the Pennar,[7] it is clear that he penetrated into the very heart of the Pallava territory. At this time, the latter's

1 No. 414 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1904.

2 No. 17 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907 from Tiruviśalūr, No. 51 of the same collection for 1985, found at Tillasthanam, No. 13 of the same collection for 1909 found at Kumbhakonam and two others (Nos. 358 and 364 of 1907) from Āḍuturai, might also belong to the same king.

3 Ep. Ind. Vol. IX. pp. 84 to 94.

4 Some of the Muttaraiyans appear in the records of the later Pallavas as well as in the epigraphs of Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ and Śaḍaiyamāṟaṉ (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. XIII. p. 134ff.)

5 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 512, verse 26 and the Tamiḻ portion which follows it.

6 These two, being the father and grandfather of Varaguṇavarman, who ascended the throne in A. D. 862, have to be assigned to the first half of the 9th century.

7 See above, note 3.

dominion was governed by either Nṛipatuṅga or his father Nandivarman.[1] The Pallavas were not slow to retrieve their loss. The Bāhūr plates report that Nṛipatuṅga marched as far as the river Araiśil in the Tanjore district and made the very army, that had formerly been defeated by the Pāṇḍyas, burn down the hosts of enemies along with the prosperity of the oppenents kingdom.[2] But this Pallava king did not live long, for it is said that, though young, the widely renowned Nṛipatuṅga was reputed like Rāma not only in this world but also in the other,— a clear hint that he met with an early death.[3] Varaguṇa-Mahārāja's successor Śrīmāra is reported in the Śiṉṉamaṉūr plates to have successfully met in battle the Pallavas among a host of others.[4] In fact he was called Pallava-bhañjana and the battle was fought at Kuḍamūkku i. e. Kumbhakōṇam. These facts are enough to show that peace did not reign in southern India consequent on the circumstance that the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas were making their best endeavours to establish their suzerainty in the Dekhan. The closing of the events noted above takes us to the reign of Varaguṇavarman and of his contemporaries the Chōḷa Āditya I and the Pallava Aparājita, as will be seen in the sequel. And it may be noted that some of the events noticed might have happened during the reign of Vijayālaya. But it is quite significant that Vijayālaya claims no victory over the Pāṇḍyas, though the battles were mostly fought in the Tanjore district. Can it be that he was acting only on behalf of his overlord the Pallava, and the inclusion of his name in the Chōḷa pedigree is due to the fact that he was the father of Āditya, who really subverted the Pallavas ? Could it not be that Vijayālaya was entrusted with the government of the southern part of the Pallava dominion before he or his successor asserted his independence ?

Verse 55 speaks of Vijayālaya's son Ādityavarman. From it we learn for the first time that he was called Kōdaṇḍarāma. His defeat of the Pallava king, which is also reported therein, is not a new information. "Having conquered in battle the Pallava who had brilliant troops, though he was Aparājita (i. e. the

1 The genealogy of the Pallavas of this period stands as under:—

N. Pallavamalla
|
Danti
|
Nandi
|
Nripatunga.

As Nandivarman Pallavamalla's reign extended up to the last quarter of 8th century, A. D. the last two have to be assigned to the first half of the 9th century.

2 The verse that contains this fact reads as follows:-

यत्प्रसादाज्जिता सेना पाण्ड्येन समरे पुरा ।
पारेऽरिचित्सराज्याश्रि ददाह रिपुसंहतिम् ॥

See *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 515. Verse 16.

3 *Ibid.* Verse 17.

नृपतुङ्ग इति ख्यातो बालोऽपि भुवनेश्वरः ।
ख्यातो न केवलं भूमावमुष्मिन्नपि रामवत् ॥

4 *Annual Report on Epigraphy* (Madras) for 1907, p. 68, para 23.

unconquered", says the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant "he (viz. the Chōḷa king Āditya) also took possession of his queen (viz) the earth and thus accomplished his object".[1] The statement is plain and there is no mistaking the fact that Aparājita was the Pallava contemporary of the Chōḷa Āditya I and that the latter defeated and took possession of his kingdom of Toṇḍai-nāḍu. This event must have happened at the end of the third quarter of the 9th century A. D.[2] But it has to be said that Aparājita, allying himself with the Gaṅga king Pṛithivīpathi I, fought a battle at Śrīpurambiyam against Varaguṇa-Pāṇḍya and gained a victory, though the Gaṅga ally lost his life in the strife.[3] This event, which is recorded in the Udayēndiram grant, cannot be connected with the one mentioned in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates for the reason that Aparājita was successful in the former, but was defeated and deprived of his kingdom in the latter. The Śrīpurambiyam battle must, therefore, have happened in the early years of Aparājita's reign. Since Aparājita's epigraphs range in date between the third and eighteenth years of reign,[4] he must have lost possession of Toṇḍai-nāḍu in the 18th year of reign[5] and this should have fallen in about A. D. 870. The fact that Aparājita was able to come unopposed by the Chōḷas as far south as Śrīpurambiyam in the Tanjore district, in the first instance, might be taken to indicate that even Āditya I held a subordinate position under him or that he fought on his behalf. The latter is unlikely because no mention is made in the Udayēndiram grant of the part played by the Chōḷas. We have only to hold that the clashing of interest between the Pallavas and the Chōḷas did not arise till about the 18th regnal year of Aparājita, when the Pallava kingdom was subverted by Āditya I. The extention of the Chōḷa dominion into Toṇḍai-nāḍu is also recorded in a Tillaisthānam[6] inscription. That Āditya had the title Rājakēsarivarman needs no saying, for his son Parāntaka I was distinctly a Parakēsarivarman. Since effecting the conquest of Toṇḍai-nāḍu, he appears to have been known as "Toṇḍai-nāḍu pāviṇa-Rājakēsarivarman" just as his son Parāntaka I was called in later years "Madiraikoṇḍa or Madirai-yum Īḷamam-koṇḍa Parakēsarivarman". Long before the discovery of the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates, which for the first time explicitly stated that Āditya I took possession of Toṇḍai-nāḍu defeating its ruler Aparājita, and the Tillaisthānam record referring to the same event, Mr. Venkayya attributed to Āditya I a Rājakēsarivarman epigraph of Tirukkaḷukkuṉṟam, in which it is stated that this Chōḷa king renewed a grant which was made by the Pallava king Skandaśishya and confirmed by Narasimhavarman I the conqueror of Vātāpī, clearly indicating that the rulers of that part of the country prior to Āditya's occupation, were the Pallavas.[7] The necessity for the renewal of earlier grants, it needs hardly be said,

1 Ep. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 88.

2 Parāntaka I having commenced his reign in A. D. 907, his father Āditya has to be assigned to the last quarter of the 9th century.

3 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 87, and *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 384, verse 18.

4 No. 435 of the *Madras Epigraphist's collection* for 1905 is dated in the 18th year of the reign of Aparājitavikrama while No. 351 of the same collection for 1908 is dated in the 3rd year of his reign.

5 See foot note 2 above.

6 *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III. p. 221.

7 *Christian College Magazine* for October 1890.

was the change in the government of the country. The Tirukkaḷukkuṉṟam epigraph is thus one of great importance to Chōḷa history as it proves the reality of the claim made in stone and copper-plates.

Now we have to point out one other event which probably occured during the reign of Āditya I. It is the conquest of Koṅgu. Inscriptions of Parāntaka I found in the Koṅgu country i. e. at Sōmūr and other places and the mention of Koṅgapperuvaḷi and Koṅgu people in his inscriptions show that Āditya I should have conquered Koṅgu, for Parāntaka I did not lay claim to it though his inscriptions are found there.

The Kanyākumari inscription further brings to notice the fact that Āditya I was called Kōdaṇḍarāma. One other person in the Chōḷa line bore this name. It was Rājāditya. Three inscriptions[1] refer to prince Kōdaṇḍarāma and in one of them he is distinctly stated to be the eldest son of Parāntaka I, thus making the identification of prince Kōdaṇḍarāma with Rājāditya rest on firm basis. In discussing the contents of a Tirumālpuram inscription, the late Mr. Venkayya drew attention to a Toṇḍamanāḍ epigraph of Parāntaka I wherein it is stated that the temple of Kōdaṇḍarāmēśvara *alias* Ādityēśvara at Toṇḍamān-Pērāṟṟūr was erected as a *paḷḷippaḍai* to the king who died at Toṇḍaimāṉ-Āṟṟūr, and said that Toṇḍaimān-Āṟṟūr must be identical with Toṇḍamanāḍ near Kāḷahasti for the reason that it is called in the inscriptions Toṇḍaimān-pēr-Āṟṟūr.[2] Though he was at first inclined to think that the temple should have been called after the son of Parāntaka I, he corrected himself and said later on that the temple in question should stand probably near the burial ground of Āditya I or over it.[3] The point to which we have to draw attention is that the name Kōdaṇḍarāmēśvara itself is derived from the other name of Āditya I and that the temple must have been built during the time of Parāntaka I whose record it bears and in honor of his father. It needs no saying that the shrine could not have been erected in honor of prince Rājāditya who was then living, because it is expressly stated that the temple was constructed as a *paḷḷippaḍai*.

The achievements of Parāntaka I are recorded in the next five verses (56—60). It is said that he was the son of Āditya I (v. 56); that he killed the Pāṇḍya king together with all his forces, took possession of his wealth and reduced to ashes Madura and aquired the title Madhurāntaka (v. 57); conquered the unconquerable Rāshṭrakūṭa king Krishṇa III and thus obtained the title Vīra-Chōḷa (v. 38); killed the lords (i. e. the kings) of Siṁhaḷa (Ceylon) and assumed the significant surname Siṁhaḷāntaka (v. 59); and built *agrahāras* called after his name Vīranārāyaṇa and gave them away to be enjoyed by learned Brāhmaṇas (v. 60).

Friendly relationship existed between the Chēras and Chōḷas during the reign of Parāntaka I, as in the days of Āditya I. The Chōḷa queen Kōkkiḷā-

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1 Nos. 318 and 347 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1904 and No. 164 of the same collection for 1912.

2 *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905, p. 50; and the same for 1907 p. 72.

3 *Ibid*, p. 72.

ṉaḍigal was a Chēra princess.[1] Nīlī, the daughter of the Chēra king Vijayarāga, visited Tiruvoṟṟiyūr in the Chōḷa dominion and made presents to the Śiva temple of Ādhipurīśa.[2] The army and retinue of prince Rājāditya counted several persons who were natives of the west coast.[3] In fact, Veḷḷaṅkumaran, the general of Rājāditya, was of the Kēraḷa country.[4] All these circumstances bear testimony to the same fact.

The Pāṇḍyas, as we have already seen, proved a formidable obstacle in the way of the Chōḷa expansion. Accordingly, Parāntaka I had to direct his attention first to the subjugation of this refractory people. Before the third year of his reign had passed, he appears to have struck a blow against them and assumed the title of "Madiraikoṇḍa" as his stone inscriptions amply prove.[5] The Udayēdiram grant probably refers to this event when it says that "Parāntaka's army having crushed at the head of a battle the Pāṇḍya king together with the army of elephants, horses and soldiers, seized a herd of elephants and the city of Madura".[6] The king conquered the Bāṇas and the Vaidumbas. Subsequently, the Pāṇḍyas sought the help of the king of Ceylon and the following version of the *Mahāvansa* relating to this circumstance is worth noting.[7]

"King Pāṇḍu who had warred with the king of Chōḷa and was routed, sent many presents unto Kaśśapa V that he might obtain an army from him. And the king, the chief of Laṅkā, took council with his ministers and equipped an army: and appointing Śakkasēṉāpati to the command thereof, accompanied himself to Mahātitha. And he stood on the shore and brought to their mind the victories of former kings and gave them courage and then sent them into the ships. And Śakkasēnāpati carried them safely to the other side of the sea and reached the Pāṇḍiyan country. And when king Pāṇḍu beheld the army and the captain thereof, he was greatly pleased and exclaimed: "All Jambudvīpa shall I now bring under the canopy of one dominion" and then he led the two armies (his own and the Singhalese king's) to battle. But he succeeded not in conquering the king of the Chōḷian race. And so he abandoned the struggle and returned to his own place."

The date of Kaśśapa V is given in the *Mahāwansa* as A. D. 925—939. If the chronology of the Singalese work is to be relied upon, the above event

1 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII. p. 133; *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 383, verse 8 and No. 261 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1907. Rājāditya was the son of this queen, and one of her servants built the Tiruttoṇḍiśvara temple at Tirunāmanallūr in the South Arcot district.

2 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III. p. 236.

3 Iravikōdai (331/02), Iyakkan Rāman of Malai-nāḍu (346/02) Tirukkuṉṟappōlaṉ Śēndakumāraṉ (343/02), Vēḷakulasundaran of Kaṇḍiyūr in Malai-nāḍu (341/02), Kaṇḍan Kāmaṉ of Maṇkarai in Vachcha-nāḍu a subdivision of Neḍumpuraiyūr-nāḍu (337/02) and Māṇavallaṉ Kaṇṇaṉ of Īśanamaṅgalam in Neduṅkālai-nāḍu figure in the inscriptions of Parāntaka I found at Tirunāmanallūr (Annual Report of the Director General of Archæology in India, for 1905-6 p. 181).

4 Annual Report of the Director General of Archæology in India for 1905-6 pp. 181f.

5 No. 29 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1907.

6 *South-Indian Iscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 387, verse 9.

7 Wijesinha's Translation Chap. LII. p. 80.

should have occurred between the dates A. D. 929—939. But it looks as if the Udayēndiram charter of Prithivīpati II (A. D. 921--2) refers to the same event when it says that "Parāntaka I having slain in an instant at the head of a battle an immense army despatched by the lord of Laṅkā which teemed with elephants, brave soldiers and was interspersed with troops of elephants and horses, he bears in this world the significant title of Sangrāmarāghava i. e. who resembled Rāma in battle".[1] Another inscription of Parāntaka, dated in the 12th year of reign corresponding to A. D. 918—919, also refers to the invasion against the combined forces of the Pāṇḍyas and the Singhalese and states that the battle was fought at Vēḷūr.[2] If all the three sources celebrate the same event, it might be said that it should have taken place not long before A. D. 918—9 and in which case there is clearly an error in assigning the period of rule of Kaśśapa V.

The defeat of the Singhalese troops that came to the aid of the Pāṇḍya was not the occasion for Parāntaka's assuming the title "Madiraiyum Īḻamumkoṇḍa", which he seems to have done after conquering the island of Ceylon in about the close of his reign i. e. about A. D. 944.[3] Accordingly, we find it mentioned in epigraphs dated later than the 37th year of reign. The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant speaks of it in these words[4]:—

"All the waters of the sea were not enough to quench the fire of the Chōḷa king's anger, which consumed the enemies and which was put out only by the tears of the wives of the kings of Siṁhaḷa, cut and killed by the king's weapons."

The immediate cause of this invasion of Ceylon was the shelter given by its king to the Pāṇḍya sovereign who, fearing the wrath of the Chōḷa, appears to have sought it. The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates say "The Pāṇḍya king, intent as it were, on extinguishing the fire of the Chōḷa king's valour entered the ocean deserting his hereditary dominion"[5] And the *Mahāwansa*[6] records. "Now at the time (Dappula V's reign ranging between A. D. 940—952), king Pāṇḍu, because he feared the Chōḷians, left his country, got into a ship and landed in Mahātitha. And the king sent unto him and was well pleased to see him, gave him great possessions and caused him to live outside the city. And while the king of Laṅkā was yet preparing for war thinking unto himself "Now shall I make war with the Chōḷian king, take two seaports and give them unto king Pāṇḍu".

If the Kanyākumari inscription registers the events of the reign of Parāntaka I in chronological order, as it seems likely and as could be proved by other evidences, there is in it a very significant fact to which we must draw particular

1 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 387, verse 10.

2 *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1904- 5 Part II. para 8: Do. for 1907, p. 72.

3 *Ibid*, p. 73.

4 See verse 52 p. 396 of the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III.

5 Verse 51 Do. Do.

6 Chapter LIII. p. 81f.

attention. *Unlike the large Leyden plates*[1] *and the* Tiruvālaṅgāḍu *grant*[2] *our* inscription attributes to Parantaka I conquest over the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III and places this event before the conquest of *Ceylon, detailed above*. *As regards* the last, the facts worth remembering are that while the inscriptions of Parāntaka I dated prior to A. D. 944 refer to the king by the epithet "Madiraikoṇḍa", those dated after that year invariably call him by the epithet "Madiraiyum Īḻamumkoṇḍa" indicating that the king's Ceylon expedition in which he gained unqualified success took place after that year. Now if his conquest or fight with the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III was effected prior to this, it must have fallen in about A. D. 942—3 allowing a year or two for the preparation of the southern expedition. The writer of the Kanyākumari inscription says:—

यज्जिगाय विजयोपमद्युतिः कृष्णराजमजितं नराधिपैः ।
भूरिविक्रमविवर्धितद्युतिर्वीरचोळ इति तेन कीर्त्यते ॥

that by conquering the unconquerable Kṛishṇarāja, Parāntaka acquired the surname Vīra-Chōḷa. Thus, this inscription places beyond doubt the fact that the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III occupied Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam and contested first with the Chōḷa king Parāntaka I and not with his son Rājāditya; it also makes clear that Rājāditya's encounter with the same Rāshṭrakūṭa king in which he was killed by the Gaṅga Bhūtuga in a hand to hand fight on the back of the elephant was quite a different one, which took place sometime later in about A. D. 947—8.[3] That Kṛishṇa III occupied Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam in or prior to A. D. 942 is proved by an inscription of his dicovered at Siddhaliṅgamaḍam, dated in the fifth year of reign.[4] Since the highest regnal year of Kṛishṇa III is known to be 30 and his death took place in Śaka 889[5] (=A. D 967), it is plain that Kṛishṇa III should have ascended the throne in A. D. 937. *His fifth year of reign should, therefore, correspond to* A D. 942, when he was in possession of a part of the Chōḷa *dominion. My inference in this respect*, made a few years ago, receives confirmation from the Kanyākumari inscription, which in plain and unequivocal terms states that Parāntaka I fought with the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III and it places the event before the king's Ceylon expedition which took place in A. D. 945. This valuable information is quite new and refers to a different event from the one recorded in the large Leyden plates.

1 The Leyden plates say "the heroic Rājaditya, the ornament of the solar race, having confounded the unconquerable Kṛishṇarāja with his army in battle, by his own sharp arrows filling all sides and having his heart pierced while seated on the back of his elephant by crouds of sharp arrows discharged by him (i. e. Kṛishṇarāja and being famous in the three worlds, ascended the car of the gods and went to the world of heroes." The actual person that killed Rājaditya was Kṛishṇa's Gaṅga ally Bhūtuga. This is *learnt from the* Ātakūr inscription which as interpreted by Mr. Narasimhachari is as follows:-
"Bhūtuga undauntedly *mounted* the elephant on which Rājaditya was seated and engaging him *in hand* to hand fight in the howdah itself, stabbed him with a dagger and thus killed him."

2 In the Tiruvālaṅgaḍu plates it is said that Rājāditya after conquering Kṛishṇarāja went to heaven *(V. 54. p. 396 of S. I. I. Vol. III.)*

3 See note 1 above.

4 *No. 375 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1909.

5 No. 236 of the same collection for 1913.

Verses 61 and 62 speak of Arindama and say that he was the son of Parāntaka I and won some military distinction. It has to be observed that the inscription passes over the names of Rājāditya[1] and Gaṇḍarāditya, as it does later on with the names of Āditya II *alias* Karikāla and Uttama-Chōḷa. The reason for the omission is not far to seek. The writer seems to have concerned himself only in tracing the direct line of Vīrarājēndra. It may be well, however, to bear in mind that none of the authorities for Chōḷa history so far available attributes to any of the three sons of Parāntaka I conquest over the Pāṇḍyas. In fact none of them held the reins of government for long. Rājāditya passed away five years prior to the death of his father, and, as has been shown elsewhere, Gaṇḍarāditya and Arindama could not have reigned for more than a few months.

In speaking of Sundara-Chōḷa *alias* Parāntaka II, the Kanyākumari record says (v. 63) that the quivering Pāṇḍya contemporary of his crossed the mountain and fled away. In some of the stone inscriptions, Sundara-Chōḷa assumes the epithet "Pāṇḍiyaṉai-churam-iṟakkiṉa" i. e. "who caused the Pāṇḍya king enter the forest". After Parāntaka I, it may be said that Sundara-Chōḷa was the next sovereign that is reported to have fought with the Pāṇḍyas. Though the large Leyden grant records that this king fought a sanguinary battle at Chēūr, it does not mention the name of his enemy. But when it says that his son Āditya II Karikāla, while yet a boy, played sportively with Vīra-Pāṇḍya as a lion's cub with a mast elephant, it may be correctly presumed that Sundara-Chōḷa's Pāṇḍya opponent was Vīra-Pāṇḍya.

Of Rājarāja I, who ascended the throne in A. D. 985 and did much to extend the Chōḷa territory, nothing more is recorded in the Kanyākumarī inscription than that he was the son of Parāntaka II *alias* Sundara-Chōḷa (*v.* 65), that he defeated the Western Chalukya king Satyāśraya (*v* 67), and slew many enemy kings (*v.* 66). But a better account is preserved in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant. It states that his proper name was Arunmoḻivarman[2] (v. 70), that when his brother Āditya died, the subjects requested him to occupy the throne, but he did not want it while his paternal uncle desired to have it,[3] (*v.* 69), that when he became king

1 The physical impossibility of Rājāditya's survival after his father, —the former having been killed in battle in 947 A. D. and the latter having ruled over the Chōḷa dominions up to A. D. 953, must be clearly borne in mind. The entire absence of records of the time of Gaṇḍarāditya and Arindama cannot but indicate that both of them passed away soon after Parāntaka I. Gaṇḍarāditya seems to have led a pious life as is amply proved by his wife's erecting temples in his honour.

2 The name Arumoḻidēva-vaḷanāḍu was given to the territorial division Teṉkaḍuvāy which comprised parts of the Negapatam, Nannilam, Tirutturaippundi, Mayavaram and Mannargudi taluks. One of the quarters of Tanjore was known by the name Arumoḻidēva-terinda-tiruppparikalattārvēḷam. Arumoḻidēva-chatuvēdimaṅgalam was a village in Puraṅgarambai-nāḍu and Arumoḻi-Īśvara the name of a temple. These figure in Tanjore inscriptions. There was also a grain or liquid measure bearing the name Arumoḻidēvan-marakkāl.

3 That Madhurāntakan Uttama Chōḷa, the son of Gaṇḍarāditya, had a better title to the Chōḷa throne, but that he was a minor during the period of rule of Ariñjaya and Parāntaka II and had shared in the government of the Chōḷa country with Āditya II, during the latter's short reign have been indicated by me elsewhere (*Historical Sketches* p. 233ff). It is a very significant fact that Rājarāja refused to ascend the Chōḷa throne in spite of the wish of the people. But for this stroke of policy there would have been a civil war in the Chōḷa dominions.

he directed his attention to the conquest of the quarters commencing with the south (*v.* 76), that he seized king Amarabhujaṅga[1] (*v.* 78), while his general captured Viḻindam[2] (i. e. Viḻiñam) which had the sea for its moat (V. 79), burnt the lord of Laṅkā[3] (v. 80.), fought with Satyāśraya and put him to flight[4] (v. 81.), killed the Andhra king Bhīma[5] who had put to death a certain Rājāraja (*v.* 82), conquered the country created by Paraśurāma[6] (*v.* 83), and that he subdued, and received homage from, Gaṅga, Kaliṅga, Vaṅga, Māgadha, Āraṭṭa, Oḍḍa, Saurāshṭra, Chalukya and other kings[7] (*v.* 84). The Vikkiramaśōḻaṉulā, registers the fact that, in retaliation for the insult offered to an envoy, Rājarāja took possession of eighteen forests together with Malai-nāḍu (i. e. Malabar)[8] and Kulottuṅgaśōḻaṉ-ulā refers to him as one cutting off eighteen heads and setting

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1 From the wording of the plates we cannot be sure that Amarabhujaṅga was a Pāṇḍya king, though it is not very unlikely. It may be pointed out here that the name Amarabhujaṅga actually occurs among the Kēraḷa kings of the Koṅgu country (see the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* (Madras) for 1906. p. 75.

2 Viḻiñam was one of the most ancient places of the Chēra country. According to the Śiṉṉamaṉūr copper-plates, the Pāṇḍya king Śrīmāra Parachakrakōlāhala fought a battle at this place. From the commentary on the Iṟaiyaṉār Agapporuḷ, we learn that the Pāṇḍya king Arikēsari Māṟavarman (A. D. 620-650) contended here against the Chēra. The place is described as being situated on the sea shore (*Historical Sketches* p. 124). The Madras Museum plates of Jaṭilavarman state that the Pāṇḍya sovereign caused the excellent port of Viḻiñam to be destroyed (Ibid. p. 133). Napier Museum stone epigraph (*Travancore Archaeological Series* Vol. I p. 158) also mentions it.

3 Tanjore inscriptions state that part of the revenues derived from Ceylon were assigned to the big temple of Rājarājēśvara at Tanjore. Ceylon itself was called Mummuḍi-Śōḻa-maṇḍalam after one of the surnames of Rājarāja I (Annual Report for 1913, part II. para 21) and an inscription of the king is also found in Ceylon.

4 It is recorded in a stone inscription that the army of the Chōḻa king Rājarāja I, numbering 900,000 men, pillaged the country of the Western Chalukyas, slaughtered ruthlessly even women, children and Brāhmaṇas and taking their girls to wife destroyed their caste.

5 The Late Rai Bahadur Venkayya surmised that the Bhīma killed by Rājāraja might be Aṇiyaṅka-Bhīma-Vimalāditya (*Annual Report on Madras Epigraphy* for 1906, p. 68).

6 Inscriptions of Rājarāja I are found in the Travancore State, which formed part of the Chēra country.

7 We cannot seek for much fact from this general statement which simply mentions some of the ancient territorial divisions of India. Gaṅga may refer to the Western Gaṅgas of Talakkāḍ: Kaliṅga included part of the circars and was situated to the south of the Suhma and north of the Āndhra. Vaṅga was to the south-east of Puṇḍra. Magadha is in South Bihar. The natives of Magadha are represented as closely related to the Vrātyas in the Atharva-Vēda (XV). Āraṭṭa is stated in the Mahābhārata (Karna-Parva XLV) to comprise that part of India through which the five rivers flow after issuing from the mountain, that virtuous men should not spend there more than two days: it is mentioned along with Prasthala, Madra, Gandhāra, Kaśa, Vasati, Sindhu and Sauviras whose people are said to be wicked; that Vahikas dwell in this country that the low Brahmans of that territory do not either study the Vēdas or perform sacrifice. It has, therefore, to be located in West Punjab. Oḍḍa is the modern Orissa.

8 Verse 16 runs thus:—

தூதற்காய்ப்-
பண்டு பகலொன்றிலீரொன்பது சுரமுங்-
கொண்டு மலைநாடு கொண்டோனும்.

fire to Udagai.[1] Victory in the battle of Udagai is claimed for him in the *Kalingattup-parani* also.[2] From the last authority and certain stone epigraphs we learn that this king was born in the asterism Satabhishaj.[3] The large Leyden plates record the achievement of the king by saying that he conquered Pāṇḍya, Tuḷu, Kēraḷa, Simhaḷa, Satyāśraya and took possession of their forces and territories.[4] From the stone epigraphs of the king, which are found in large numbers, we learn that the earliest act of the king was the conquest of the Kēraḷa dominions to effect which he had to contend also against the Pāṇḍyas. Consequent on this circumstance, he assumed the surname Mummuḍi-Chōḷa i. e. 'the Chōḷa who wore the three crowns viz. of the Chēra, Chōḷa and the Pāṇḍya. Since two epigraphs of Rājarāja,[5] dated in the 4th year of reign mention him by this name, we have to conclude that this conquest of the two southern powers should have occurred in or prior to that year (A. D. 989). The earliest reference to the destruction of the ships at Kāndaḷūrśālai is, however, to be found in the epigraphs dated in the 8th year (A. D. 993) of the reign of the king. Rājarāja is referred to by the simple epithet 'Kāndaḷūr-śālai kalam-aṟutta-Rājakēsarivarman' up to the 13th year of reign (A. D. 998).[6] The fact of the omission of this achievement in earlier inscriptions than the 8th, suggests that it must have been effected in that year. If so, it must relate to an expedition against the Kēraḷa, different from the one which gave Rājarāja the surname Mummuḍi-Chōḷa already in the 4th year of reign (A. D. 989). Inscriptions of Rājarāja I have been found at Tirunandikkarai, Eraniel, Suchīndiram, Cape Comorin and other places in the Travancore State, thus establishing his conquest of the Kēraḷa and Pāṇḍya countries. Some of these are dated in the 10th year of reign and mention the destruction of the ships at Kāndaḷūr. That Kāndaḷūr must be a place in the Malai-nāḍu has been

1 The late Mr. Venkayya surmised that Udagai must be a strong-hold of the Pāṇḍyas (*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Introduction p. 3). As Udiya means Chēra, it is not unlikely that Udagai was a place in the Kēraḷa country, for it is said that Rājarāja obtained a victory at Udagai after defeating the Udiyas.

2 Verse 24 (Canto VIII) of the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* runs as follows:

சதைய நாள் விழாவுதியர் மண்டலந்
தன்னில் வைத்தவன் றனியொர் மாவின்மே
லுதயபாநு வொத்துதகை வென்ற கோ
னொருகை வாரணம் பலகவர்ந்ததும்.

3 See note 2 above and No. 274 the *Madras Epigraphical collection* for 1910. One of the Tirunandikkarai inscriptions states that Rājarāja I assigned the village of Muṭṭam with its name altered into Mummuḍiśōḷanallūr, to the temple of Tirunandikkarai-Mahādēva, for conducting a festival on the day of Śadaiyam in the month of Aippaśi which was the birth day of the Perumāḷ (*i. e.* king) (*Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. I. p. 292). It is worthy of note that Tirunandikkarai is in the Kēraḷa country (the *Udiyarmaṇḍalam* of the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*).

4 Leyden grant has:

जित्वा स पाण्ड्यतुळुकेरळसिंहळेन्द्र-
सत्याश्रयादिनृपतीन्निजबाहुवीर्यात् ।
आदाय तत्करितुरङ्गमरत्नराष्ट्र-
ण्याशा दशापि यशसा धवळीचकार ॥

5 Nos 283 and 265 of the *Madras Epigraphical collection* for 1906.

6 No. 538 of the collection for 1905.

surmised already.[1] And it has been suggested that the place must be the same as Trivandrum.[2] But it looks very likely that it is identical with the village of its very name in the Neyyattinkarai Taluk.[3] King Amarabhujaṅga should have been seized and the port of Viḻiñam captured in either of the two occasions noted above. The second conquest of the Kēraḷa country should have been followed by the capture of several principalities such as Gaṅgapāḍi, Nuḷambapāḍi, Taḍigaipāḍi, Coorg, Kollam (Quilon), Koḍuṅgōlūr and Ceylon which were all effected before the 20th year of the king's rule (A. D. 1005).[4] The defeat of the Pāṇḍyas and the Chēras gave Rājarāja immense wealth which consisted of pearls, coral, silver, ruby, diamond and other gems.[5] The conquest of Kollam, Kolladēśam and Koḍuṅgōlūr is specially mentioned in a Śeṉūr inscription of the 20th year[6] which also states that Rājarāja burnt Madura. After conquering the southern country Rājarāja changed the name of the Pāṇḍya country into Rājarāja-Pāṇḍināḍu and the whole south including the territory of the Kēraḷas appears to have been termed Rājarāja-Teṉṉāḍu. During this period, the Pāṇḍyas and Chēras seem to have been allied together against the Chōḷa, for it is stated in the Tanjore inscriptions that Rājarāja defeated the Chēra king and the Pāṇḍyas in Malai-nāḍu and carried away their treasures.[7] Rājarāja's expedition against Satyāśraya was later than the events registered above. If the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant mentions the events of the reign of Rājarāja in chronological order, there appears to have been another invasion against the Chēras which must have taken place after he had defeated Satyāśraya. Says the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant[8]:—

सर्वक्षत्रवधव्रतप्रणयिना रामेण यन्निर्मितं
राष्ट्रं शिष्टजनाभिराममतुलं दुर्गं महीध्रार्णवैः ।
जित्वा तत्सकलावनीन्द्रमकुटश्रेणीलसच्छासन-
स्सोऽभूत्सर्वधनुर्भृतां क्षितिभृतामानन्दसन्दोहकृत् ॥

With the capture of 12000 islands in the Indian ocean and the performance of the *tulābhāra* ceremony in the 29th year of reign (= A. D. 1013) when his queen Dantiśaktiviṭaṅki *alias* Lōkamahādēvī passed through a gold cow, the career of Rājarāja came to an end.

1 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, Introduction p. 2.

2 *Travancore Archæological Series*, Vol. II. pp. 1f.

3 Kandaḷūr is 7 miles from Neyyāttinkarai.

4 No. 394 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1911.

5 See Nos. 59 and 91 of Vol. II. of the *South-Indian Inscriptions*.

6 See note 4 above.

7 See note 5 above.

8 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III. p. 398.

9 The latest regnal year found so far for Rājarāja is the 29th. These facts are recorded in an graph discovered by me at Tiruviśalur (*Annual Report on Madras Epigraphy* f r 1 p. 65).

The achievements of Rājēndra-Chōḷa I are next recorded in verses 68 to 72. Of these, verse 69, which is partially damaged, speaks of his conquests over the lords of the Kuntala country by which is meant the territory ruled over by the Western Chalukyas, Kadambas and their subordinate chieftains.[1] The Tamil historical introduction of the king probably refers to the same event when it says that he captured the countries of Iḍaituṟai-nāḍu, Vanavāsi, Koḷḷippākkai, and Maṇṇaikkaḍakkam, which have all been located in the Kanarese provinces.[2] The next item noticed is the seizure of the Kēraḷa king. At the time of effecting it, the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates report that the Chōḷa general struck a blow against the Pāṇḍya king, and as a result, the latter abandoned his country and took shelter in the Malaya mountains.[3] The kingless Pāṇḍya country was left under the protection of Rājēndra-Chōḷa's son Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya i. e. Sundara-Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya.[4] The Kēraḷa country was then attacked and annihilated. This done, Sundara-Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya was left in charge of the entire south;[5] and Rājēndra-Chōḷa proceeded against the Western Chalukya Jayasiṁha. The last mentioned conquest is indicated in the Kanyākumari inscription in verse 70 where it says that Rājēndra-Chōḷa made Mānyakēṭa[6] the play ground of his army. Then followed the slaying of the chiefs of Kulūta and Utkala,[7] by the generals of the king. From the

1 The Kadamba king Mayūraśarman is said to have brought eighteen Brāhmaṇas from Ahichchhatra and established them in the Kuntala country. This shows that during the days of Kadamba supremacy, this territorial division was included in their dominions. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. X, p. 251-3). About the exact location of the Kuntala country, Mr. Rice notes that 'an inscription of the twelfth century A. D. at Badanikke describes Kuntala as the province governed by the Mauryas. This roughly speaking would be the country between the rivers Bhīma and Vēdavati, bounded on the west by the Ghats including Shimoga, Chitaldroog, Bellary, Dharwar, Bijapur and adjacent parts to the north in Bombay and the Nizam's dominions' *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 289). Some of the Western Chalukya kings ruled over it (*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 230; and Vol. III, p. 140). Later on, it came under the sway of the Hoysaḷas and the Vijayanagara kings. In fact, Vijayanagara is stated to have been situated in the Kuntala-vishaya, a subdivision of the Karṇāṭa country (*South-Indian Inscriptions* Vol. I, pp. 160 and 164): and Hosapattana which formed one of the boundaries of Ānegondi (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. XI, Sk. 136) and from which the earlier Vijayanagara kings issued their grants, is stated to have been a place in the Hoysaḷa territory (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. XI, Cd. 2). In the *Madhurā-vijayam*, Gaṅgādēvi refers to Bukka I by the words कर्णाटलोकनयनोत्सवपूर्णचन्द्रः and कुन्तलभूमिपालः (See Messrs. Srinivasa Sastri and Harihara Sastri's edition, pp. 9 and 13).

2 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX. p. 230.

3 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, p. 398, v. 91. Though the plates report that the Chōḷa general fought with the Pāṇḍya, a stone epigraph (No. 363 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1917) states that Rājēndra-Chōḷa I constructed at Madura a huge palace 'by whose weight even the earth became unsteady' and anointed his son Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya as the Viceroy of the Pāṇḍya kingdom.

4 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XI, p. 292ff. An inscription of Sundara-Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya is found at Āṇaimalai, 6 miles from Madura.

5 *South-Indian Inscriptions* Vol. III, p. 399, v. 93. In the inscriptions of Sundara-Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya found at Mannārkoyil near Ambāsamudram two Chēra kings Rājarāja and Rājasimha figure as Chōḷa feudatories (*Ep. Ind.* XI. 292f.).

6 Manyakēṭa was the capital of the Rāshṭrakūṭas (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 63 and Vol. VI. p. 29). Later on it came under the sway of the Western Chalukyas.

7 In the Tamil introduction of the king's epigraphs, Utkala is called Oḍḍa-vishaya.

Mahēndragiri pillar epigraph, it is learnt that Vimalāditya was the Kulūta chief overcome by the Chōḷa general whose name is given out to be Rājēndra-śōḷa-Pallavaraiyan.[1] None of the sources for Chōḷa history hitherto available specifically attributed to Rājēndra-Chōḷa conquest over Vēṅgī and Kaliṅga. Coupled with this, the statement of the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates that Rājēndra-Chōḷa, desirous of conquest, reached the Gōdāvarī and bathed in its water, while his powerful general got the water of the Gaṅgā to his master, after defeating *Mahīpāla*,[2] gave room to doubt if the Chōḷa king's claim to have overrun the countries of northern India was anything more than a tour of pilgrimage.[3] As such, the information furnished in the Kanyākumari record that he destroyed the Kaliṅga king together with the chief of Viṁśa is of very great importance. In this connection, we have also to note that a stone epigraph of Eṇṇāyiram contains interesting information regarding the king's conquest of the northern region, of his stately return march with all the splendour of a victor, of his wedding the Gaṅgā and hence assuming the title Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chōḷa. The wording of the inscription indicates that the Chōḷa king was himself engaged in the expedition against the rulers of Northern India (*uttarāpatha*). The most important event of the reign, however, is the burning of Kaṭāha *i. e.* the conquest of Burma,[5] referred to in verse 72. The Chinese work *Sungshih* states *Shih-li-lo-ch'a-yin-to-lo-chu-lo i. e.* Rājēndra-Chōḷa sent an embassy to China in A. D. 1033: and it is fairly certain that this embassy should have taken a sea route.[6] The Tamiḻ historical introduction of the king gives a detailed account of his northern and southern expeditions from which it can be gathered that the king himself was engaged in the wars against the several powers, though particular feats might have been performed by individual generals.

Verse 73 of the Kanyākumari inscription settles the relationship that existed between Rājēndra-Chōḷa I and Rājādhirāja I, Rājēndradēva and Vīrarājēndra. It states that, like unto the three fires of a sacrifice, there were born to Rājēndra-Chōḷa I three sons of whom the first was Rājādhirāja I. The verses that follow further make it plain that Rājēndradēva and Vīrarājēndra were the younger brothers of this Rājādhirāja I. Though verse 73 is partially damaged, yet from the preserved portion of it, it is seen that Rājādhirāja I destroyed the city of Kalyāṇapura before conquering its overlords. This information agrees with what is recorded of the king in the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* and the *Vikkiramaśōḷaṉulā*.

1 *Annual Report of the Director General of Archæology* in India for 1911-12, p. 171.
2 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III. p. 400, v. 119.
3 *Annual Report of the Director General of Archæology in India* for 1911-12, p. 171ff.
4 Madras G. O. No. 1172 Home (Education), dated 6th September 1918, p. 145.
5 This conquest and that of the countries on the Ganges are thus referred to in the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*:

களிறு கங்கை நீருண்ண மண்ணையிற்
கலவி மண்ணொடுங் கலவு செம்பொனக்-
குளிறு தெண்டிரைக் குரை கடாரமுங்-
கொண்டு மண்டலங் குடையுள் வைத்ததும்.

Vikkiramaśōḷaṉulā also states that the king sent an army and took possession of the Ganges river and Kaḍāram:

தண்டேவிக்-
கங்கா நதியுங் கடாரமுங் கைக்கொண்டு-
சிங்காதனத்திருந்த செம்பியனும்.

6 *Historical Sketches*, p. 257.

From the former, we gather that he set up a pillar of victory at Kampili and defeated the king of Kalyāṇa.[1] Certain stone epigraphs substitute Vijayarājēndra for Rājādhirāja I.[2] At Dārāśuram in the Tanjore district there are two fine stone images of *dvārapālas* with inscribed pedestals stating that Vijayarājēndradēva *i. e.* Rājādhirāja I, brought them after his victorious fight at Kalyāṇapuram.[3] The *Vikkiramaśōḻaṉulā* speaks of him as the matchless hero who marched thrice against Kalyāṇi and defeated its king. His other achievements are subjugation of the Pāṇḍya kings Mānābharaṇa, Vīrakēraḷa and Sundara-Pāṇḍya; defeat of the Vēṇāḍu king; destruction of the ships at Kāndaḷūr-śālai and the overcoming the three kings of the famous Irāmakuḍam: and the invasion of the island of Ceylon.[4]

From his stone inscriptions we learn that he had a few sons, an elder brother and a paternal uncle (*i. e.* father's younger brother).[5] It is not unlikely that the last mentioned royal relation is referred to in the records of Parakēsarivarman Rājēndradēva when they state that that king conferred the title of Irumuḍiśōḻaṉ on his father's younger brother, the powerful in war and named Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-śōḻaṉ.[6] This recipient of royal favours from Rājādhirāja I and his younger brother Rājēndradēva must have been a younger brother of Rājēndra-Chōḷa I.

The anointment of Rājādhirāja to the Chōḷa sovereignty having taken place in A. D. 1018 (between 15th March and 3rd December)[7] *i. e.* 6 years after his father's coronation which took place in A. D. 1012 (between 27th March and 7th July)[8] and the latter having ruled up to A. D. 1045, he could have become the real ruler of the Chōḷa dominions only in A. D. 1045[9] when his father died and his mother probably committed *sati* on the same day.[10] Stone inscriptions of Rājādhirāja I are all dated between his 26th and 36th years of reign.[11] Most of the events registered in the king's historical introduction must, therefore, have been accomplished already during the days of his father's rule.

1 Verse 26 (Canto. VIII) of the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* has.

கம்பிலிச்சயத்தம்ப நட்டதும்
கடியரண்கொள் கல்யாணர் கட்டறக்
கிம்புரிப்பணைக்கிரியுகைத்தவன்
கிரிகளெட்டினும் புலி பொறித்ததும்.

and *Vikkiramaśōḻaṉulā* has

வங்கத்தை-
முற்று முரணடக்கி மும்மடிபோய்க் கல்யாணி
செற்றதனியாண்மைச் சேவகனும்.

2 No. 14 of Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

3 No. 24 of the same collection for 1908.

4 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III. Part I. p. 56f.

5 *Ibid*, p. 53.

6 *Ibid*, p. 59 and 60.

7 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 218.

8 *Ibid* p. 217.

9 His calculated dates range from the 5th to the 31st year of reign: but from other epigraphs it is seen that he ruled up to A. D. 1045.

10 *Annual Report on Madras Epigraphy* for 1916, p. 118.

11 No. 14 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

Of Rājēndradēva, nothing more is said in our inscription than that he was the younger brother of Rājādhirāja and that he protected the country after the other had passed away (v. 74). He is reported to have fought the battle of Koppam, to have invaded Ceylon, to have decapitated king Vīraśalāmēgaṉ of Kalinga and to have taken the heroic sons of the king of Ceylon as prisoners. His reign extended from A. D. 1052 (28th May) to 12 years *i. e.* until A. D. 1063-4.[1] He is said to have conferred titles on four younger brothers and six sons. Their names and titles are given in the genealogical table appended below. He had two grandsons also.

Differing from the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* and *Vikkiramaśōḻaṉulā* which introduce immediately after Rājēndradēva, a king, who, according to the other work, caused to be made with gems the serpent couch of the god Raṅganātha at Śrīraṅgam,[2] the Kanyākumari inscription makes Vīrarājēndra, also called Vīra-Chōḷa and Karikāla-Chōḷa, assume the kingdom immediately after Rājēndradēva (vv. 75—76). His victory in the battle of Kūḍalsaṅgama is referred to and he is said to have exercised real sway over the Vēṇigi and Kaliṅga countries, which had not been cared for by his brothers (v. 77), and to have settled 40,000 Brāhmaṇas, learned in the Vēdas, in the Chōḷa, Tuṇḍīra, Pāṇḍya, Gaṅgavāḍi and Kulūta countries. In the short prose portion that comes at the end, Vīrarājēndra is reported to have defeated Āhavamalla several times. In this connection, the contents of his Tamil inscriptions are worth noting. The Chālukyas are there reported to have been first defeated and driven out of Gaṅgavāḍi, the army despatched by them to Vēṅgi destroyed; and lastly, at Kūḍalsaṅgama, the Chōḷa sovereign defeated them. Other kings overcome by Vīrarājēndra are those of Pottappi, Kēraḷa, Jananātha of Dhāra and Pāṇḍya.

Inscriptions of Vīrarājēndra also speak of some of his near relations. A certain Āḷavandān was his elder brother. On him he confered the title of Rājarāja. Perhaps he is identical with Mummdi-Chōḷa, referred to in the records of Rājēndradēva as an younger brother, on whom he bestowed the title of Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya. One of Vīrarājēndra's sons was Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chōḷa. He was made a Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya and given the governorship of the Pāṇḍya country. The other was Muḍikoṇḍa-Chōḷa, who was also known as Sundara-Chōḷa. Whether Adhirājēndra is identical with either of these two sons or was different from them, it is not possible to say.

Thus far we have indicated the line followed by the writer of the Kanyākumari *praśasti* in tracing the mythical ancestry of the solar race and the history of the Chōḷas. And here we have to observe only a few peculiarities noticed in the engraving of this inscription. *Virāma* is marked in several places; omissions of letters occur frequently; indiscriminate use is made of hard consonants in place of the soft and *vice versa*; and *anusvāra* is made to take the place of the final *m* and *vice versa*. Another striking feature is the use of *sandhi* between the last word of the first half of a verse and the initial word of the next.

1 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 23.

2 The latter work has "பாடரவத் தென்னரங்க மேயாற்குப் பன்மணியாலாடரவப் பாய லமைத்தோனும்." See verse 28 of Chap. VII of the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*.

The object of the inscription is to register a gift made by the king, of lands situated in the villages of Naṟṟirākkuḍi and Peruṅguḍi-Kīḻkombu in Puṟattāya-nāḍu, a sub division of Uttamaśōḻa-vaḷanāḍu, which was a district of Rājarāja-Pāṇḍināḍu, in favour of the temple of Kanyāpīḍāriyār at Kumari in the same nāḍu.

Pedigree of the Solar race (as followed in this inscription) and of the Chōḷas.

Brahmā
|
Marīchi
|
Kaśyapa
|
Vivasvān[1]
|
Manu
|
Ikshvāku
|
Vikukshiśrava (*alias* Śaśāda)
|
Purañjaya (*alias* Kakutstha)
|
Anēnas*
|
Pṛithu[2]
|
Viśvagaśva*
|
Ārdra*
|
Yuvanāśva*
|
Śravastha*
|
Bṛigadaśva*
|
Kuvalāśva (*alias* Dundhumāra)[3]
|
Dṛiḍāśva*
|
Haryaśva*
|
Nikumbha*
|
Saṁhatāśva*
|

Kriśāśva*

Prasēnajit*

Yuvanāśva[4]

Māndhāta

Purukutsa* Ambarisha* Muchukunda

Trisadaśya*

Sambhūta*

Anaraṇya

Prishadaśva*

Haryaśva *m* Mādhavi daughter of Yayāti*

Sumanas or Vasumanas*

Tridhanvan*

Traiyāruṇa*

Satyavrata *alias* Triśaṅku *m.* Satyavratā[5]

Hariśchandra

Rōhitāśva*

Harita*

Chunchu*

Vijaya* Sudēva*

Ruruk*

Vṛika*

Bāhuka*

Sagara
|
Asamañjasa and others*
|
Aṁśumān*
|
Dilīpa*
|
Bhagīratha
|
Śruta*
|
Nābhāga*
|
Ambarīsha*
|
Sindhudvīpa*
|
Ayutāśva*
|
Ṛituparṇa
|
Sarvakāma*
|
Sudāsa*
|
Saudāsa *alias* Mitrasaha*
|
Aśmaka*
|
Mūlaka*
|
Daśaratha*
|
Ilvala*
|
Viśvasaha*
|
Dilīpa
|
Dīrghabāhu[6]
|
Raghu*
|
Aja*
|

Daśaratha *

Rāma | Bharata | Lakshmaṇa | Śatrughna

Rāma
⋮
Chōḷa[7]
|
Rājakēsari
|
Parakēsari
⋮
Mṛityujit
⋮
Vīrasēna
⋮
Chitra *alias* Vyāghrakētu[8]
⋮
Pushpakētu
⋮
Kētumāla
⋮
Samudrajit
|
Pañchapa[9]
⋮
Nṛimṛiḍa
⋮
Manōratha
⋮
Perunatkiḷḷi
⋮
Karikāla
⋮
Vaḷabha[10]
⋮
Jagadēkamalla
⋮ C 1
Vyāḷabhayaṅkara
⋮

1 The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant begins with this name and mentions the successors up to Purañjaya as in the Kanyākumari inscription with the difference that Vikukshiśrava is called Vikukshi.

2 According to the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates, Prithu was the son of Vēna who came in the family of Analapratāpa, a lineal descendant of Aryaman, the son of Kakshivat and grandson of Purañjaya *alias* Kakutstha.

3 Like the Kanyākumari inscription, the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates also omit the intervening names between Pṛithu and Kuvalāśva.

4 This name occurs in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates.

5 Satyavrata is mentioned in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plate which state that Uśīnara came in his family, that Śibi was Uśīnara's son, that Marutta was a descendant of Śibi, that Dushyanta came in Marutta's family and that Daushyanti was his son.

6 The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates mention Dīrghabāhu but state that he was a lineal descendant of Pārthivachūḍāmaṇi, who was the son of Prithulāksha and grandson of Vaḷabha.

7 Chōḷa is stated to be the son of Bharata and grandson of Daushyanti and great grandson of Dushyanta.

8 The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates make him the son of Parakēsari and state that Chitrāśva and Chitradhanvan were his son and grandson and that Suraguru came in the family of the last.

9 He is made a lineal descendant of Sāṅkṛiti the son of Chandrajit.

10 Vaḷabha is mentioned immediately after Muchukunda in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates.

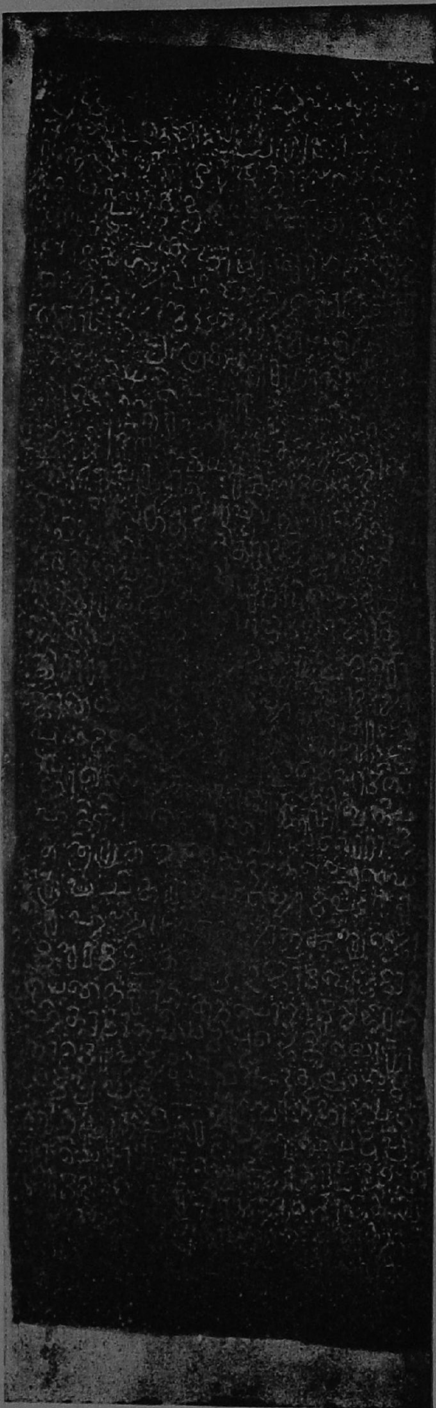
- Parakēsari-Vijayālaya
  - Rājakēsari-Āditya I.
    - Parakēsari-Parāntaka I
      - Rājāditya
      - Rājakēsari-Gaṇḍarāditya
        - Parakēsari-Madhurāntakan Uttama-Chōḷa
      - Parakēsari-Ariñjaya
        - Rājakēsari-Parāntaka II *alias* Sundara-Chōḷa
          - Parakēsari-Āditya II *alias* Karikāla
          - Kundavai *m.* Vallavaraiyar Vandyadēva
          - Rājakēsari-Rājarāja I
            - Parakēsari-Rājēndra-Chōḷa I.
              - Sundara-Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya
              - Rājakēsari-Rājādhirāja I
                - Sons
              - Parakēsari-Rājēndradēva
                - Rājēndra-Chōḷa *alias* Uttama-Chōḷa
                - Mudikoṇḍa-Chōḷa *alias* Vijayālaya
                - Śōḷa-Kēraḷa
                - Kiḍāraṅkoṇḍa-Chōḷa *alias* Śōḷa Janakayarāja
                  - Madhurāntaka *alias* Śōḷavallabha
                  - Nṛipēndraśōḷa
                - Mudikoṇḍa-Chōḷa *alias* Sundara-Chōḷa
                - Raṭṭapāḍikoṇḍa-Chōḷa *alias* Śōḷa Kannakkuchchiyarāja
                - Madurāntakī *m* Kulōttuṅga I
              - Mummuḍi-Chōḷa *alias* Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya
              - Rājakēsari Vīrarājēndra
                - Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chōḷa *alias* Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya
                - Mudikoṇḍa-Chōḷa *alias* Sundara-Chōḷa
                - Adhirājēndra ?
              - Parāntaka-Chōḷa Ayōdhyarāja
              - Ammaṅgā *m* Rājarāja I
            - Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chōḷa
            - Kundavai *m* Vimalāditya

(To face page 129.

First pillar.

a

b



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Text.

First pillar: first side.

1 स्वस्ति श्री[: ॥*] यः कर्ता जगदु-
2 [1]त्भव[स्थि]तिलया[नु]त्भूतया[2] ली-
3 लया यो वाचामधिनायकश्श्र-
4 यति यं सर्वज्ञतैकाश्रया [।*]
5 यत्[3]भक्तिप्रवणैरपायविष-
6 मस्ताय्यों भवाम्भोनिधिर्द्दैया-
7 त् [4]वस्स विभूतिमिन्दुशकलापीडो
8 भवानीपतिः ॥—[१*][5] मायामाया[मि]र्नीं[6]
9 यो वहति जगदिदं रञ्जयन्तीं
10 जयन्तीं[7] ज्ञानाज्ञानप्रसू-
11 ति[8]स्फुटरुचिवपुषा योगभाजा-
12 गभाजा [।*] सत्वासत्वानुकम्पी हि-
13 तमुदितमहा[ता]पशूनांम्[9] पशू-
14 नाम्[9] शम्भुन[10]म्भुग्नपापव्यति-
15 कृति भवतस्सप्रपातात् प्रपा-
16 तात् ॥—[२*][11] चक्रे चक्रेण दैत्य-
17 प्रकरमतिबलं यस्समस्तं समस्त-
18 [म्] पाता पातालभूलाहि[त]बलिरनिश-
19 म् भासुराणां सुराणां[12] [।*] सद्यस्स द्य-
20 त्वघं [वो] हरिरखिलजगद्रक्षणे-

---

1 Read °दुद्भव.

2 Read °नुद्भूतया

3 Read यद्भक्ति.

4 Read दैयाद्वः

5 Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

6 The *anusvāra* mark is engraved twice, once at the end of this line and again at the beginning of the next.

7 The length of ना is entered on the top of न.

8 Read प्रसूतिं.

9 Read पशूनां.

10 Read श्शम्भु.

11 Metre: Sragdharā. This is also the metre of the verses 3 to 9.

12 Change the *anusvāra* into final.

21 न क्षणेन स्वैरं स्वैरं[श]लेशै-[1]
22 [रिव ध]रणिगतैस्सम्भवत्भिर्भवत्भिः[2]
23 ॥—[३*] आदौ देवस्सिसृक्षामुपनतस-
24 मयः प्रत्यवे[क्षा][3]मदभ्राम् बिभ्रत्[4]
25 विश्वाधिनाथस्समु[चि]तजगदारम्-
26 भमम्भस्स[स]र्ज्ज [।*] तस्मिन्निक्षिप्य
27 बीजं निजमजमखिलं स त्रिलो-
28 कीकरण्डम् ब्रह्माण्डन्तेन [चक्रे]
29 व्याधित विधिमपि स्रष्टुमिष्टं वि-
30 धेयम्[5] ॥—[४*] तस्माज्जातस्तदानीं स-
31 कलमपि जगत्सप्रपञ्चं विरि-
32 ञ्चः [कृत्वा] दुर्वारवीर्यानजनयदपरा[न्]
33 ब्रह्मणः कर्मनिष्ठा[6]न्तेषामेक[स्तु]-
34 शेषैरपि . . . . . वर्गभिद्योनिस-

First pillar: second side.

35 [7]श्रीर्व्वि[ष्व]ग्रोचिर्म्मरीचिस्त्रिभुवन-
36 (न) [भवनात्] सञ्चकासाञ्चकार
37 (र) ॥—[५*] तस्मा[द्वि]स्मेरपत्मासन[8]नयन-
38 चयस्पष्टदृष्टोर्ज्जितश्रीरश्रे-
39 यस्सम्पत्तिभाजां न्धुरि[9] गणितगु-
40 णः काश्यपः पश्यकोभूत् [।*] अ-
41 न्योन्योन्मर्दनेन श्रियमिह दध-
42 तो यत्प्रसूतास्सुराद्या नि[र्व्या]ज-[10]
43 [11]न्निर्जयन्ति प्रचुरमुपचितानम्बु-

1 The *ai* symbols alone are at the end of this line; श is engraved at the commencement of the next line.
2 Read भवद्भिर्भवद्भिः.
3 Read प्रत्यपेक्षा.
4 Read बिभ्रद्.
5 The *e* sign of धे is at the end of the preceding line.
6 Read कर्मनिष्ठान् । तेषां.
7 Read श्रीर्विष्वग्रोचिर्मरीचि.°
8 Read पद्मासन.
9 Read धुरि.
10 Read निर्व्याजं.
11 Read निर्जयन्ति.

44 राशेस्तरंगान्[1] ॥—[६*] तस्माज्जात-
45 स्तदानीं [स]मयकतसम[2]स्वैः प्र-
46 भावैरुदारैर्विश्वत्राणप्रवी-
47 णैस्सततमतितरान्निर्जयन् [स्वां][3]
48 विवस्वान् [।*] निद्रामुद्राविभेदं प्रथ-
49 मम[नु]भवन्यन्मयूखाभिमर्शाद्धातु-
50 र्वक्त्रारविन्दैस्सह सकळगुरो-
51 स्स[ञ्च]प[ञ्च]श्चकाशे ॥—[७*] यस्योदस्यत्-[4]
52 भिरारादवतमसततिव्याततैरंशु-[5]
53 जालैर्भास्वत्कार्त्तस्वराण्डम् (प्र)
54 प्रथममभिगळत्काळिमेवां[6](म्)ब-
55 भासे [।*] यत्[बिम्बः[7] कर्णिकात्वन्निव-[8]
56 हति किरणैः केसरैराहि-
57 तश्रीरुत्गाढैर्द्दिग्दळौघै-[9]
58 रुप[र*]चितरुचो व्योमपंके-[10]
59 रुहस्य ॥—[८*] एतस्याभूत्तनूजो
60 मनुरमलतनुर्भूभुजाम् बीजमाद्य[11]
61 येनैकान्तेन योगान्मुनिभिरभि-
62 हिता मानवीयं प्रजेति [।*] लोका-
63 नामेकवन्द्यः प्रविदधदतुलं शर्म-

1 Read °स्तरङ्गान्.

2 Read समयकृदसमः.

3 We have perhaps to correct स्वां into स्वान्.

4 Read °दस्यद्भि.°

5 Read °ततिं व्याततै.°

6 Read कालिकेवा.°

7 Read यद्बिम्बः.

8 Read °त्वं निव.°

9 Read °रुद्गाढैर्दिग्द.°

10 Read पङ्के.

11 Read °माद्यं.

64 [1]धर्म्मप्रपचैर्भास्वान् भास्वत्-
65 सुतत्वात् पितरमिह[2] सुतं यं प्र-
66 काशीचकार ॥—[९*] तस्येक्ष्वाकुरभूद्यशो-
67 [3]भिरमळैर्द्दिक्ष्वाततैश्शोभितस्सू-
68 नु . . . . भूभृतां सुरगणैर्य्यत्की-[4]
69 [र्त्तिरुद्गी]यते[।*] यस्यामित्रनराधिराजवि-

Second pillar: first side.

70 रहाज्जैत्रम्महस्सर्वतो [द्दष्टा-
71 ति]प्रसरं व्यजेष्ट बलव[न्मि]त्र-
72 स्य तेजः परम् ॥—[१०*][5] तस्याभूत्तनयस्स-
73 मुन्नतनयः प्रेक्षी विकुक्षिश्रवो
74 रक्षामक्षतविक्रमस्समकरोत्-
75 क्ष्मामण्डलस्यास्य यः[।*] अन्योन्य-
76 प्रविमर्द्दनेन महती या पार्त्थिवै-
77 र्ल्लभ्यते तां [सू]ते श्रियमश्रमं क्षि-
78 [ति]भृतां यत्[पा]दयोरानति[ः*]॥—[११*] पुत्रस्तस्य
79 पुरञ्जयस्स[मभवत् सं]ग्राममाजन्मुषां[6]
80 जेता [भू]मिभुजांञ्जिगीषुरसुराञ्ज[7]
81 ञ्ञे[8] स मान्यस्ततः । ज[म्भ]ारिं वृषभं वि-
82 धाय ककु[दे स्थूले]स्य [9]यस्संस्थित-
83 [स्तद्दैवैराधिक]प्रमोदगतिताम्[10] प्राप्तः
84 ककुत्स्थाभिधाम् ॥—[१२*] पृथुर्बभूवात्र कुले

1 Read धर्मप्रपञ्चै°.

2 Correct मिह into मिव.

3 Read °मलैर्द्दि.°

4 Read गणैर्यत्की. The syllable र्य्य looks like त्य in the original.

5 Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita. This is also the metre of verses 11 and 12.

7 Delet the *anusvara*.

6 Read जग्मुषां. The anusvāra is in the next line.

8 The *e* sign of ज्ञे is at the end of the preceding line. Read जन्ये.

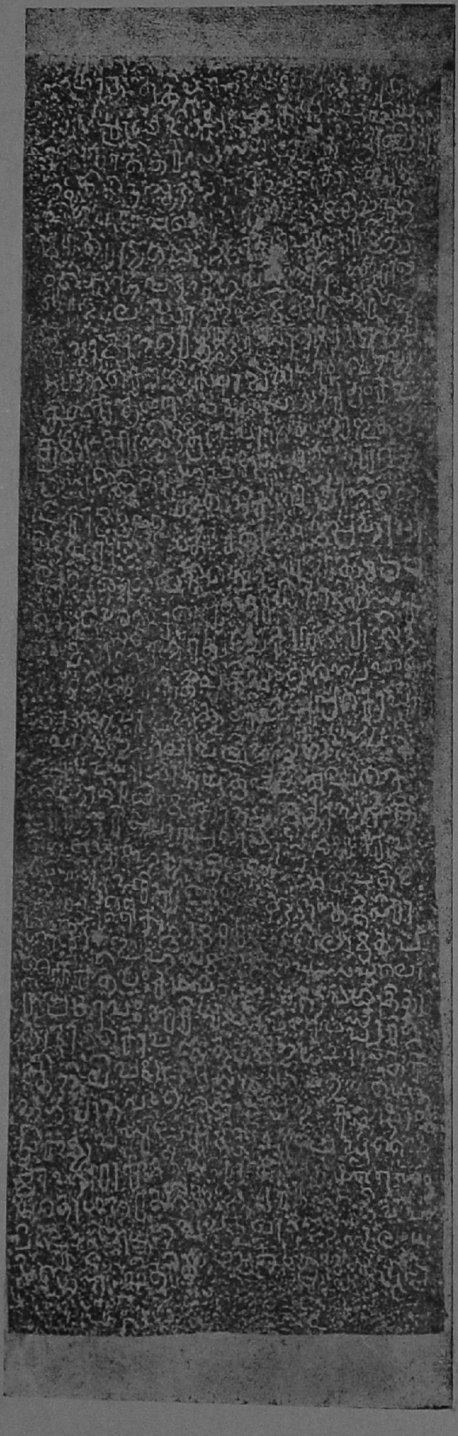
9 Read यस्सं°

10 Read गदितां

Second pillar.

a

b



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85 [कुलाद्रि]णा समस्समस्तावनिपालवन्दितः [।*]
86 विवे[क]धुस्तन्नृपतौ सनन्दधुन्न[1] वेष-
87 [1]धुन्नापि च याचधुज्जनः[2] ॥—[3][१३*][अ]मु[ष्मि]न्वं-
88 [शे]भू्म[ह]ति कुवलाश्वो नरपतिर्हृ-
89 [रिद्वी]यैंदू्र्धुर्यैंरतिनिभृतमुत्भासित[4]
90 तनुः[।*] स धुन्धुन्दैत्येन्द्रम् बहळ-
91 सिकतासिन्धुपिहितं हितं लोकाया-
92 स्मै विदधदवधीदुद्धतबलः ॥—[5][१४*]वंशे-
93 स्मिन्नुत्बभूवात्भुत[6]महिमभरभ्राजितस्या[7]-
94 मरारेरंशो विश्वंभरार्त्तिप्रशमनमनि-
95 शं कर्त्तुमुत्सिद्धकीर्त्तिः[।*] मान्धाता[8]
96 नाम राजा जननयनमहान्नन्द[9]
97 सं[दो]हजायी[10] यस्याधर्म्मक्षयाय व्यच-
98 रदतिजवात् चक्रमाचक्रवाळात् ॥—[11][१५*] त-
99 [स्मि]न्नृपे परमतेजसि शासतीमाम् भू-
100 मिञ्चचार हरिणा हरिणस्सहापि [।]
101 सर्वौ मिथस्सहजमप्यजभाद्विरो-[12]
102 धन्धर्म्मस्त्वधर्म्मविरहान्न तथा चकार ॥—[13][१६*]
103 उदयमिह दधानस्सत्गुणै रेधमान-[14]
104 सततमसदपाये वृद्धिमत्यन्ववाये[।*][उद]जनि

1 Read °थुन्नें.
2 Read थुर्जनः.
3 Metre: Vaṁśastha.
4 Read धुर्यैं and °मुद्भासित.
5 Metre: Sikhariṇi.
6 Read °न्नुद्बभूवाद्भुत.
7 The length of या in भ्राजितस्य is in the next line.
8 The length of ता is in the next line.
9 Read महानन्द
10 Read दायी
11 Metre: Sragdhara.
12 Read °जहा°
13 Metre: Vasantatilaka.
14 Read °स्सद्गुणै°.

105 मुचुकुन्दः कुन्दगौरैर्यशोभिः परिण-
106 त इव चन्द्रः शोभमानो मयूखैः ॥—[1][१७*]

Second pillar: second side.

107 . . . .
108 . . . .
109 . . . .
110 . . . .
111 . . . .
112 . . . . . न्नृप[स्तेषां स्व]र्गमतीव दुर्ग-
113 मकरोद्युद्धे ह[ता]नामपि ॥—[2][१८*] अस्मिन्वं-[3]
114 शे भवदभिभवन्नोजसा राज-
115 बृन्दं लब्धानन्दस्समितिषु हरिश्च-
116 न्द्रनामा नरेन्द्रः[।*] दित्सामेकान्दधदपि
117 नयन् कौशिकीयान्धनायां स्वं व्य-
118 क्रीणात्तृणमेव तथा यस्सुपुत्रं कळ-
119 त्रम् ॥—[4][१९*] आसीदत्रान्ववाये सगर इति[नृ]-
120 पस्तर्जिताशेषभूपो येनार[ब्धे]-
121 पि कामं हयमखनिकरे त्रासितो
122 देवराजः[।*] यत्पुत्राणाम्प्रभावा-
123 ल्लवणजलनिधौ सागरत्वं प्रप-
124 न्ने शेषाणां वारिधीनामपि [सक]-
125 . . . स्सागरत्वञ्चकार ॥—[5][२०*] आसीद-
126 त्र [भ]गीर[*]थः क्षितिपतिर्वंशे स्ववं-
127 [6][शो]द्भवानुद्धर्तुं कपिलप्रकोप-

1 Metre: Mālini.
2 Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.
3 The *anusvāra* is in the next line.
4 Metre: Mandākrānta.
5 Metre: Sragdharā.
6 The ś sign of शो is at the end of the preceding line.

128 [दह]नज्वालावलीभस्मितान् [।*] स्व[स्सि]-
129 न्धुं वसुधान्नयन्त्रिपथगां[1] चक्रे
130 स भागीरथीं मर्त्यानप्यमृतान्व्यधात्
131 सुरसरित्वारि[2]प्रवाहास्पृशः ॥—[3][२१*] अन्व-
132 येत्र सुमहत्यवतीर्ण(:)[स्स]र्वभूपतिगु-
133 णैः परिपूर्ण्णः[।*] [सज्ज]नस्तुति[विरा]-
134 जि[तव]र्ण्ण[:*] क्ष्मामर[क्षद]खिलामृ[तु]प-
135 र्ण्णः ॥—[4][२२*] इह समजनि भूपः सर्व्वलो-
136 कैकतीपः[5] क्षपि[तभुवनता]पश्शातिता-
137 रिप्रतापः[।*] अरि[युवतिविला]पस्पारि-[6]
138 तोद्दामकोप[स्सततवि]जयि[चा][प*]स्फीतकी-
139 र्त्तिर्द्दिलीपः[7] ॥—[२३*][8]अस्मि[न्नंशच]तु[ष्ट]येन
140 भगवान् वंशेज[निष्ट] प्रभुः [क्लि]ष्टां
141 [वी]क्ष्य वसुन्धरामतिबलैद्र्धृष्टै-
142 [9][र्म्माहाराक्षसैः] [।*] [रामो लक्ष्म]णसं-
143 युतोथ भरतश्श[त्रुघ्न] युक्त[स्सुतद्वन्द्वं]
144 विष्णुभुजायुगद्वयतुला[मू]र्ज्जस्वलं य-
145 ययौ ॥—[10] [२४*] पितरि त[नय] वृत्तं भ्रातृषु भ्रातृ-

Third pillar: first side.

146 वृत्तम्[11] युवतिषु पतिवृ[त्तम्][11] शत्रवे[12]
147 शत्रुवृताम्[11] [।*]मुनिषु तृपतिवृ[त्त[13]

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1 Read नयंस्त्रिपथगां.

2 Read द्वारि.

3 Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

4 Metre: Svāgatā.

5 Read दीपः.

6 Read स्फारितो. the ऽ symbol of तो, which occurs in the next line, is entered in this line.

7 Read कीर्त्तिर्द्दिली.

8 Metre: Mālinī.

9 Read: °र्धृष्टैर्म्महा°

10 Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

11 Read वृत्तं.

12 व is entered at the beginning of the next line.

13 Read नृपति.

148 मृ][1] बान्धवे बन्धुवृत्तं सकल[म-]
149 खिलनाधः[2] शिक्षवामासा[3] लोक[म्] ॥—[4][२९*]
150 न क्रोधेन जघान राक्ष[सप]तिं का-
151 [5]मेन न प्रेयसीं स प्रत्याहृतवान्म-
152 हीशचरितं कात्स्न्र्येन चक्रे परम् [।*]
153 नो चेत्किन्तपसि स्थितं स म-
154 लये शूद्रं जघानासिना किं
155 वानत्ययकान्तिधृ • प[चि]तान्त[त्या*]
156 ज सीतां [द्रु]त[म्] ॥—[6][२६*] सेतुं नेतुं क-
157 पिवलमसौ ब(ल)न्धयन्नेकम-
158 ब्धौ चक्रे वक्रेतरगुणनिधिर्द्द-[7]
159 मैसे[तून]शेषान् [।*] केतुं हेतुं वि-[8]
160 बुधविपदां व्यापदान्दानवीनां रामं
161 कामं कथयति जनस्सत्गुण[ा*]नान्निधानं[9] ॥—[10] [२७*]
162 अस्मिन्वं[शे*][11] जनि विदळयन्नोजसा[रा]जबृ-
163 न्द[श्चो]ळो नाम क्षितिपतिरतिस्फीतराज-
164 न्यकालः [।*] यस्याशे[षा]मव[नि]मवतो[12]
165 राजधानीमिव स्वां लीलोद्या-
166 [13]नैस्तुलनम[दधन्सर्वतः का]ननानि ॥—[२८*]
167 विहरन् स हरप्रभः कदाचिन्मुनिबृन्दा-[14]

1 Read वृत्तं.
2 Read नाथः. The ध looks almost like श in the original.
3 Read शिक्षयामास.
4 Metre: Mālini.
5 The ĕ symbol of *mĕ* is in the pervious line.
6 Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.
7 Read निधिर्धर्मे.
8 वि looks like पि.
9 Read सद्गुणानां निधानम्.
10 Metre: Mandākrāntā. This is also the metre of verse 28.
11 The ĕ sign alone of this letter is seen in the original.
12 The length of the letter तो is in the next line.
13 The *ai* symbol of *nai* is at the end of the preceding line.
14 The secondary *ā* symbol is engraved in the next line.

(To face page 136.

Third pillar.

a

146 148 150 152 154 156 158 160 162 164 166 168 170 172 174 176 178 180 182 184

b

186 188 190 192 194 196 198 200 202 204 206 208 210 212 214 216 218 220 222

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168 ध्यु[षि]तेषु काननेषु [।*] अनयद्विबु-
169 धाश्रयो विहारप्रतिलब्धाव-
170 सराणि वासरा[णि] ॥—[1] [२९*] कदाचन मृग-
171 व्रजप्रमथनप्रभुल्लादरश्चचार[2]
172 विपिनान्तरेष्वनतिभूरिसैन्यः [क्ष]-
173 मी [।*] तदा स मृगरूपिणा झटिति केन-
174 चिद्रक्षसा [हृतो] हरितमन्वगात्
175 प्रकृतिदक्षिणो दक्षिणाम् ॥—[3][३०*] मृग-
176 न्तमनु[ग]च्छता प्रजविना शनैर्वा[4]
177 जिना पृथुद्रुमसमाकुलं विपि-
178 नमन्यदासादित[5] [।*] [6]न्तमन्वयुरनारतं प्र-
179 विततप्रयाणोन्मुखा जवेन र-
180 भसोत्पतत्पृथुवरूथिनीना-[7]
181 यकाः ॥—[३१*] तं हत्वा रजनिचरं स तत्र-
182 भूपः कावेरीमनुविचचार भूरिचा-
183 [रः*] क्षीराम्भोनिधिमथनात् सुरै-
184 रवाप्तम् पीयूषं(म्)भुवि सलिलच्छला-
185 [द्वहन्तीम्] ॥—[8][३२*] तत्र[स्ना]त्वा . . . . त्थैद्रजे-[9]

Third pillar: second side.

186 [भ्यो] नापश्यत्तान्वश्यचित्त-
187 स्तदानीम् [।*] आर्यावर्त्ताद्द्विप्रवर्या-
188 [नेनका]नानीयाध्यावासयामा-

1 Metre: Aupachchhandasika.
2 Read प्रफुल्लादरश्चचार. The length of चा looks like र.
3 Metre: Prithvi. This is also the metre of verse 31.
4 The length of वा is in the next line.
5 Read सादितम्.
6 Read त instead of न्त.
7 The length of ना is engraved at the commencement of the next line.
8 Metre: Praharshani.
9 Read द्विजे°.

189 [स] तीरे ।।—[1][३३] विपिनमखिलं श्चित्वा[2]
190 पूगैश्चकार वनम्महत्तदनु वि-
191 [दधे] धीरस्सारं सनागलताकुल-
192 [म्] [।*] उपवनचयैरन्यैः [3]कवेर-
193 [सुता] तटद्वयवसुमतीमेकच्छाया-
194 [मनेक]फलां व्यधात् ।।—[4][३४*] अमरस-
195 रि[ति स्ना]नम् भूयस्तपश्चरणञ्जना
196 [विद]धति तटे तस्याः कृच्छ्रात् त्रिविष्टप-
197 काम्यया [।*] इह विरचितं स्नानं [घोरं]
198 तपश्च सुरालयादपि शुभतरे व[ा-
199 से व*]ासं स्थिरीकुरुते सताम् ।।—[३५*] अन्वशा-
200 [त्त]मनु राजकेसरी वासराधिप इवा-
201 [सम]द्युतिः [।*] चोळभूपतनयो नया[त्][5]
202 [क्षो]णिमाजलधि तापिताहितः ।।—[6][३६]
203 त[त्सुत]स्तु परकेसरी नृपो मत्स-
204 [री तम]निवार्यशासनः [।*] सत्सखः
205 . . . पालयन्मही . . तासुरनिका-
206 [मवि]क्रमः ।।—[३७*] अस्मिवंशे मृत्युजिन्ना-
207 म राजा [मृ]त्योर्जेता पातितारातिव-
208 [र्गः ।*] जज्ञे यज्ञैराज्ञया च प्रका-[7]
209 म[न्देवांच्छत्रू]न्तोषयन्[8] श्रेयं-
210 [श्र] ।।—[9][३८*] अस्मिन्वंशे वीरसेनाभिधा-
211 [नो जा]तो नीताशे[ष] लोकाहित-
212 [श्र] [।*] रेजे राजा तेजसा भानुतु-

1 Metre: Śālinī.
2 Read छित्वा.
3 Before this, a word with two long syllables is omitted.
4 Metre: Hariṇī. This is also the metre of the next verse.
5 Two syllables are missing after नयात् in the original.
6 Metre: Rathōddhatā. This is also the metre of the next verse.
7 The length of का is at the commencement of the next line.
8 Read °च्छत्रूंस्तोषयन्.
9 Metre: Śālini. This is also the metre of the next verse.

213 [ल्यः] कल्याणानाम्मन्दिरं सुन्दरांगः[1] ॥—[३९*]
214 चि[त्रो]न्नाम[2] क्षितिपतिरभूत्तत्र वंशे-
215 धिकश्रीर्वित्रस्तारिप्रक[र]विनतिव्यक्त-
216 विच्छिन्नकोपः [।*] वृत्रारातिर्ज्झटिति[3] स-
217 मरे तर्जितो यस्य बाणैर्म्मित्री-[4]
218 [भू]त[स्स]ततमभजद् व्याघ्रकेतुध्वजत्व-
219 [म्] ॥—[5][४०*] अवनिमखिलपारावारतीराभि-
220 रा[मे] विरतिमविरतश्रीश्शासितुन्नाशि-
221 [तारिः] [।*] निजभुजबललीलाकृष्टराजन्य-
222 [लक्ष्मी]रिह समजनि वंशे भूपति[ः पु*]ष्प-
223 केतुः[6] ॥—[7][४१*] अस्मिन्वंशे केतुमालाभि-

Fourth pillar: first side.

224 धानो जातो राजा जातशम्[पात्र]-
225 काशः [।*] हत्वा सर्वक्ष्माभृतां [केतु]-
226 मालां येनावासं केतुमालाभि-
227 धानम् ॥—[8] [४२*] समुद्रजिन्नाम नरा[धिनराजो]-[9]
228 [भुवं] . . . . . . वीर्यैः [।*] पूर्वापरा-
229 म्भोनिधिमिश्रणेन [पण्ये]न . . .
230 शसुतां [स]लो[भः] ॥—[10] [४३*] श्रीमत्यत्र कुले
231 बभूव महितश्रीः पञ्चपाख्यो नृ[पो]
232 निर्व्याजातिथिपूजनोर्ज्जितमना यक्षा[11]
233 न् स पञ्चातिथीन् [।*] विद्धा पञ्च[सि]रा-
234 स्स्वशोणितमसौ तैर्याचित[स्साद]-

1 Read सुन्दराङ्गः.

2 Read चित्रो नाम.

3 Read झटिति.

4 Cancel one of the म's.

5 Metre: Mandākrāntā.

6 The *ē* of के is at the end of the preceding line.

7 Metre; Mālinī.

8 Metre: Śālinī.

9 The letters in brackets are written over an erasure. The length of जो is engraved in the next line.

10 Metre: Upajāti.

11 The length of क्षा is in the next line.

235 [1]रं कोष्णन्तत् सकलानपाय[य*]त यत्[ख्या*]तस्तु
236 [त*]त् पञ्चपः ॥—[2] [४४*] अभवन्विभ[वै]र्ज्जे-[3]
237 यन्दिग्गीशानिह वंशे नृपतिस्सु[धां]शु-
238 कान्तः [।*] नृपृडस्स मृडस्य सम्प्रसा[दाद]-
239 जयन्मृत्युमनत्ययप्रभावः ॥—[4] [४५*] अत्रा[भूद]-
240 मलगुण[:*] कुलेतुलश्रीस्तेज[स्वी स]-
241 मिति मनोरथाभिधानः [।*] [यो हत्वा]
242 झटिमि[5] मनोरथानरीणाम् . .
243 नामकुरुत सत्फलात् बलेन ॥—[6] [४६*]
244 एतस्मिन्परुनात्किळिप्रभृत[यो वं]-[7]
245 शे धराधीश्वरा भूयांसस्तु [जिता]-
246 मरेश्वरबलश्रीविक्रमा जज्ञिरे [।*] ये-
247 षामाजलधिक्षमां[8] सपतनव्यासं[9]
248 यशोभिश्शुभैराब्रह्माण्डमख-
249 ण्डदेशसमयं [10]विश्वन्जग[द्रा]जते ॥—[11] [४७*]
250 अस्मिन्कुले कुलधराधरस[त्रि]-
251 काशः काशोपमान[[12]विततोरु]-
252 यशःप्रतानः [।*] आसीत् क्षितीशतिल-
253 [13]कः करिकालनामा चोळस्समुत्थितरि-
254 पुक्षितिपालकालः ॥— [14][४८*] स कावेरी-

1 The *anusvāra* is a correction from a secondary *a*
2 Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.
3 Read अभवद्विभवैर्जे.
4 Metre: Aupachhandasika.
5 मि has to be corrected into ति.
6 Metre: Praharshaṇi.
7 The *anusvāra* is engraved at the commencement of the next line.
8 Cancel the length of मां.
9 Read सतपनं व्यासं. The *anusvāra* is engraved in the next line.
10 Read विश्वञ्ज.
11 Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.
12 वि looks like सि in the original.
13 A *visarga* seems to have been engraved and cancelled at the commencement of this line.
14 Metre: Vasantatilaka.

KANYAKUMARI INSCRIPTION OF VIRARAJENDRA.

Fourth Pillar.

a

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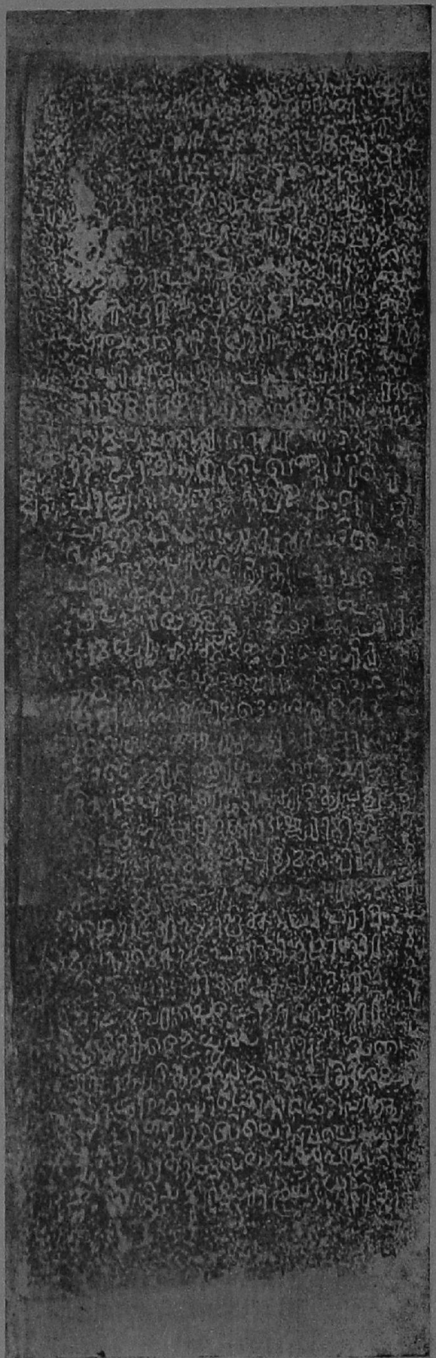

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255 न्दूरीकृतसकलसस्यां विदधतीम् प-
256 यः [1]पूरैस्पारैरवनिम[विनीतो]-
257 द्धति[ह]रः [।*] प्रतीरीभूताभिन्नरपति[2][करा]-
258 श्लिष्टपिटकप्रकीर्ण्णाभिर्म्मृंत्[भि[3][न्यैरुण]-
259 दरुणाग्रेसरसमं[4] ॥—[5][४९*] [अस्मिन्कुले]
260 सकलपार्थिववन्द्यपादो जा[तो]-

Fourth pillar: second side.

261 भिजात[गुण]संहति . . . श्रीः [।*]
262 [ऊ]र्जे[स्वलोत्भुत [निजाप्रतिमप्र-
263 [ताप]स्सन्तापितारिशिलभो[6] व-
264 [ळभो] महीशः ॥—[7][५०*] इहान्व[ये]-
265 [भूदम]रेशतुल्यः [प]रा[स्तवि द्व-
266 ज्जनतापशल्यः [।*] [सम]स्तराजा-[8]
267 न्तकभूरिमल्लः क्षमाधिना-
268 [9]थो जगदेकमल्लः ॥—[10][५१*] वंशे-
269 स्मिन्नरिराजवन्दि[त]पदद्वन्द्वारवि-
270 [11]न्दक्षमि राजा [व्याळ]भयंङ्कर-[12]
271 स्समभवत् [13]सूनो रवेः [।*] दो-
272 [14]र्द्दण्डाञ्चितखड्गखण्डितारि-
273 [15]पोर्य्यस्योर्ज्जितश्रीजुषुः को-
274 पाग्निः[16] द्विषदङ्गनास्नसलि-

1 Read यःपूरैः स्फारै°
2 Cancel one of the न् in न्न.
3 Read र्म्मूर्द्भि instead of र्म्मृंत्भि.
4 Read समः.
5 Metre: Śikhariṇī.
6 Read शलभो.
7 Metre: Vasantatilaka.
8 The length of जा is in the next line.
9 The secondary *e* symbol alone is at the end of the preceding line.
10 Metre: Upēndravajrā.
11 Read विन्दः क्षमी.
12 Delete the *anusvāra*.
13 Three syllables appear to be omitted before सूनो.
14 Read दोर्दण्डाञ्चितखड्ग.
15 The secondary *e* of पो is at the end of the preceding line. Read जुषः.
16 Read °पाग्निर्द्विषद.

275 [1]लैस्सिक्तः परं शाम्यति ॥—[2] [५२*] अन्व
276 [3]येत्र विजयालयनामा समूब-
277 भूव सकलक्षिति[न]ाथः [।*] यत्प-
278 दाम्बुरुह[युग]ममजस्रं शेखरीकृ-
279 तमशेषमहीपै[:] ॥— [4][५३*] निवेश-
280 [या]मास स चोळदेशे नवीनता-[5]
281 शेषगुणप्रवृद्धां[6] [।*] कञ्चास-
282 नाथरमैरैः प्र[गी]तां तञ्चापु-
283 रीन्नाम पुरीन्नरे[न्द्र]ः ॥—[7][५४*] आदित्यवर्मा-[8]
284 भवदस्य पुत्रः कोदण्डरामाभि-
285 धया प्रसिद्धः [।*] उत्पुत्य[9] मत्तद्विरदे-
286 [10][षु] संस्थञ्जघान [यः] पल्लवराजमा-[11]
287 जौ ॥— [५५*] अस्याभूत्तनयः पराक्र-
288 मवतामेकाधिपः क्ष्माभुजां वीर-
289 श्रीनि[ल]यः परान्तक इति ख्यातः क्ष-
290 मा[धी]श्वरः [।*] वेलोद्यानविहारि-
291 [भि]र्मदकळैर्य्यद्वारणाधीश्व-
292 [12]रैर्वास्यन्ते मदसिन्धुभिः प्रतिदिशम्
293 पाथांसि पाथोनिधेः ॥—[13][५६*] हत्वा[14]
294 तु पाण्ड्यमखिलेन बलेन सा-

1 The *ai* symbols of लै are engraved at the end of the preceding line.
2 Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.
The ये symbol of ये is in the preceding line.
4 Metre: Svāgata.
5 The length of ता is the next line.
6 Change the *anusvāra* into म्.
7 Metre: Upajāti. This is also the metre of the next verse.
8 The letter र्मा looks like त्वा.
9 Read उत्प्लुत्य.
10 षु *must be corrected into* न्द्र.
11 The length of मा is in the next line.
12 The *ai* symbols are at the end of the preceding line.
13 Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.
14 The length of त्वा is engraved in the next line.

295 कं हत्वा तदीयमखिलं वसु वीर्य्यशा-
296 [ली ।*] भस्मीचकार मधुरां यदधःकृता-

Fifth pillar: first side.

297 [1]रिर्लेभे तत[स्स] मधुरान्त-
298 कनामधेयम् ॥— [2][५७*] यज्जिगाय
299 विजयोपमद्युतिः कृष्णराजमजि-
300 तन्नराधिपैः [।*] भूरिविक्रमविव-
301 द्धितद्युतिर्व्वीरचोळ[3] इति ते-
302 न कीर्त्यते ॥—[4][५८*] यत्तीर्णैर्ज्ज-[5]
303 लनिधिमुद्धतैर्बलौ-
304 [6]घैस्संयत्तान् समिति जघान
305 सिंहळेशान् [।*] तत् सर्व्वक्षिति-[7]
306 पतिवन्द्यमानपादस्सोन्वर्थां-[8]
307 मभजत सिंहळान्तकाख्या[ं*]म् [॥—][9] [५९*]
308 दृष्टान्तः कोस्य राज्ञस्सकल[गु]-
309 णनिधे[श्शक्नुयात्[10]] कोस्य [वक्तु]-
310 म् भूयिश्श्लाघ्यान्[11] गुणौघा . . . [12]
311 [13]शमितिरिपोर्व्विक्रमैकास्पदस्य [।*]
312 यो विद्वद्विप्रभोग्याननुपम-
313 विभवान्वीरनारायणाद्या[नन्य]-
314 ग्यानग्रहारान्व्यधित [विधि]रिव स्व-
315 र्गमस्तारिवर्गः ॥—[14][६०*] अमुष्य तन-

1 Read °रिर्लेभे.
2 Metre: Vasantatilaka.
3 Read तिर्वी.
4 Metre: Rathōddhata.
5 Read यत्तीर्णैर्जे°
6 The secondary *ai* symbols are engraved at the end of the previous line.
7 Read सर्वक्षिति.
8 The length of र्था is in the next line.
9 Metre: Praharshaṇi.
10 Read क्नुयात्.
11 Read भूयःश्लाघ्यान्.
12 This gap may be filled up with the syllables न्युषि.
13 Read शमितारिपोर्वि.
14 Metre: Sragdhara.

316 [1]यो भवद्भिुररिन्दमाख्यो नृपः[2]
317 क्षपाकरसमद्युतिः त्षपित[3]-
318 [4]वैरिपक्षोत्करः [।*] यदीयभुज-
319 विक्रमश्रवणसंभवत्साध्व-
320 सैर्नृपैरव[नि]भृत् गुहा-[5]
321 गृहनिवासिभि[:*] स्थीयते ॥—[6] [६१*] अ[य]
322 कृ[7] राज्ञ[:*]स्वैरमाज्ञाविधे[या]-
323 न्व्याधित विधिसमानस्सम्पदं स-
324 ज्जनानाम् [।*] अतनुत नुतवीर्यो [व्या]-
325 पदं शात्रवाणामतुलयदतुल-
326 श्रीश्चन्द्रकान्ति स्वकान्त्याः ॥— [8][६२*] अस्य
327 सूनुरभ[व*]त् परान्तकस्सन्ततक्षपि-
328 तवैरिसन्ततिः [।*] चिन्तयन्यदुदयं स-
329 साध्वसः पाण्ड्यभूपतिरलंघय-[9]
330 त् गिरिं[10] ॥—[11] [६३*] चकार कारासु रिपूनशे-
331 [12]षाम्स्ततार भूरीन्समराम्बुराशीन् [।*]
332 जहार तापं बुधसंहतीना[न्त]ता-
333 न सन्तापमसज्जना[ना]म् ॥—[13][६४*] अखिल
334 गुणनिधानात् [14]भूमिपालादमुष्मा-

Fifth pillar: second side.

335 दुदजनि नरनाथो राजराजाभि-

1 The ē sign of यो is in the preceding line.

2 The *visarga* is in the next line.

3 Read क्षपित.

4 The *ai* symbols are in the previous line.

5 Read भृद्गुहा.

6 Motre: Prithvi.

7 Instead of कृ, मकृत च is required.

8 Metre: Mālini.

9 Read अलङ्घ°

10 Read त्रिरिम्.

11 Metre: Rathōddhata.

12 Change म् into an *anusvāra*.

13 Motre: Upēndravajrā.

14 Read °धानाद्भू°

(To face page 143.

Fifth pillar.

a

298 300 302 304 306 308 310 312 314 316 318 320 322 324 326 328 330 332 334

b

336 338 340 342 344 346 348 350 352 354 356 358 360 362 364 366 368 370 372

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336 धानः [।*] . . . रुचिरदेहः कान्त-
337 [1][ने]त्रारवि[न्दो] [धनद इति] परं [यत्रा]-[2]
338 जराजेन तुल्यः ॥—[3][६५*] सञ्जहार स-
339 मरे स पार्थिवानुज्जहार विप-
340 दस्स भूतळात्[4] [।*] आजहार च मखान-
341 [5]नेकशो व्याजहार [च] [स*] सूनृत....त ॥—[6][६६*]
342 सत्याश्रये स्थिर[त]रे बत राजरा-
343 जे सत्याश्रयः [किल] पलायत मन्द-
344 [7]बुद्धिर्नत्या जय[न्ति] स[भ]या रिपव-
345 स्तमाजौ न त्याजयत्ययमसूनरि-
346 भिरिश्रयस्तैः ॥—[8][६७*] तस्य सूनुर[नत[9]]-
347 स्य शासिता पाकशासन इवारि-
348 शासनः [।*] [10]शंबरारि[रु*]चिराकृतिर्नृप-
449 स्सम्ब[भू]व मधुरा[न्त]काभिधः ॥—[11][६८*]
350 अजयदजितवीर्य[12][रूप]सौन्दर्यशाली
351 विजय इव स[मस्तान् कुन्त]ळानामधी-
352 शान् [।*] अहरत स [किरीटं] क्षत्रिया[णान्नि]-
353 हन्तुः प्रभलभि[ह्लरा]ज[13] जामदग्न्य-
354 स्य वीर्य्या[त्] ॥—[14][६९*] जहार हारन्तुहि-
355 नांशुका[न्ति] [7]शतक्रतोर्विक्रम

1 The *e* sign alone of *nē* is seen.

2 The syllables यत्रा must be corrected into योरा.

3 Metre: Mālinī.

4 Read भूतलात्.

5 The ē sign of ने is in the preceding line.

6 Metre: Rathōddhata.

7 Read बुद्धिः । न.

8 Metre: Vasantatilaka.

9 The last letter is engraved below the line.

10 Read शम्बरारि.

11 Metre: Rathōddhata.

12 Read वीर्यो.

13 Read राजाज्जाम.

14 Metre: Mālinī.

356 निर्ज्जितारि[ः] [।*] [1]विहारभूमिं निज-
357 [2]सैनिकानां स चाकरोत् संय-
358 ति मान्यकेटम् ॥—[3][७०*] स्वसेनाधीशा-
359 नप्रतिहतकुलूतोत्कलप(ति)-
360 तिः कलिंगान्विशेन्द्रैस्स[ह]
361 बहळवीर्यान्विदळयन् [।*] स [गंगा]
362 [4]मुतर्ज्जन्निजकरिघटापाति[त]तटां
363 घटैर्ज्जंह्रे[5] भूभृन्मकुटनिहि-
364 [6]तैरुद्धृतज[ला]म् ॥—[7] [७१*] उलंघिताम्बु-
365 धिभिरु[द्ध]तब[हु]वीर्यैर्नि[र्द्धू]त-
366 [वैरि]नरनाथ[बल]प्रप[श्चै]-
367 [8]स्सै[न्यैः*] कटाहमद[हयमन्यै][9] राजेन्द्र-
368 चोळनृप[तेः किमसा]ध्यमस्य ॥—[10] [७२*]
369 [तस्या] संस्तनया[स्त्र]यस्त्रय[11] इव
370 ख्याताः [क्रतोरग्नय]स्तेषान्तु प्र-
371 थमः क्षि[तीशति]लको रा[जा]धि[रा]-
372 जो नृपः [।*] [यः]कल्याण[पु]र[न्द]दाह नृप-
373 ती[न्निर्जित्य] [तन्नाय]कानादायाहव

Sixth pillar: first side.

374 मह्ल . . . .
375 . . . . ॥—[12][७३*] त[स्मि]-
376 न् गते त्रिदिव[मु*][द्गू]तशोकशो-

1 The length of ह्रा looks like र.
2 The *ai* symbols are engraved at the end of the previous line.
3 Metre: Upēndravajrā.
4 Read मुद्गर्ज.
5 Read घटैर्जह्रे.
6 The *ai* signs are in the preceding line.
7 Metre: Śikhariṇī.
8 One of the *ē* sign of स्सै is in the previous line. Read प्रपञ्चैः [।*] सैन्यैः.
9 A few syllables appear to have been omitted to be engraved before यमन्यै. Supplying them the passage may be read मदहयद्रदाद्यैः.
10 Metre: Vasantatilaka.
11 Read त्रय.
12 Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍitam.

KANYAKUMARI INSCRIPTION OF VIRARAJENDRA.

(To face page 147.

Sixth Pillar.

a

374 376 378 380 382 384 386 388 390 392 394 396 398 400 402 404 406 408

b

410 412 414 416 418 420 422 424 426 428 430 432 434 436 438 440 442 444

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377 कस्तस्यानुज[1]क्षितिमिमामखिला-[2]
378 मरक्षत् [।*] [3]राजेन्त्रदेवनृपतिस्स
379 रिपूनशेषान् शेषोपमो[4]
380 [5]नभगभुजः प्रळयं व्यनै-
381 षीत् ।.—[6][७४*] तस्मिन्याते [7]त्रिदिवमनुज-
382 [स्तस्य] [8]नस्तेजितारिः प्राज्यं रा-
383 ज्यं व्यथित[9] विधिवत्[10]वीरराजेन्द्र-
384 देवः[।*] अत्युद्भूतं समधिकबलो
385 राजराजेन्द्रदेवः शत्रुव्रातं व्य-
386 जयत जवात्[11] बाह्यमाभ्यन्तरं च ॥—[12] [७५*]
387 हत्वा कूटलसंगमे क्षितिभृ-
388 तः मण्णाटवंशोत्भवान्[13] सैन्यं[14]
389 यज्ञभुजां प्रवर्धयति य-
390 [15]स्तैद्देवभूयं गतैः [।*] येनै-
391 केन . . . . . बले निर्हत्य त-
392 च्छोणितैः [कृ]त्वान्यां सरितं[16]
393 समुद्रवनितां संतोषितो
394 वारि[धिः] ॥—[17][७६*] भ्रातृभ्यां समुपे-

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1 Read नुजः क्षिति.
2 The length of ला is in the next line.
3 Read राजेन्द्र .
4 The secondary *ā* symbol is in the next line.
5 Read भयभुजः
6 Metre: Vasantatilaka.
7 Read त्रिदिव.°
8 Read निस्तेजिता.°
9 Read व्यधित.
10 Read वद्वीर.
11 Read जवाद् .
12 Metre: Mandākrānta.
13 Read °द्भवान्.
14 The *anusvāra* of न्यं is in the next line.
15 The *ai* symbols of स्तै are at the end of the previous line: Read स्तैर्देव.°
16 The *anusvāra* of तं is at the beginning of the next line.
17 Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita. This is also the metre of the next verse.

395 क्षितं जनपदं वंशक्रमाभ्या-
396 गतं [क्रा]न्तं वैरिमहेश्वरै[1]-
397 रतिबलैर्वेङ्गीन्कलिंगा-
398 नपि [।*] जित्वा शत्रुपरम्परामतिब-
399 लां हित्वा च भीतान् बहूञ्छ्रीमा-
400 न्वल्लभवल्लभक्षितिपतिः
401 [2]क्षेमेण तं सोन्वसात्[3] ॥—[७७*]
402 वीरचोळनृपतिः करिकालः का-
403 ल[य]न् कलिबलं सकलं सः [।*]
404 धर्म्मशास[न*][[4]समुश्चयमुच्चं व्या-
405 तनोत् [स]र[स]सारसमेतम् ॥—[5] [७८*]
406 देवस्याद्रिसुताधिपस्य म[त] .
407 [त्रै]लोक्यसाराभिधं श्रीमद् द-
408 भ्र[सभा]नटस्य मकुटे माणि[क्य]-
409 [6][का]रोपितम् [।*]मन्ये वैरिकुला-

** Sixth pillar: second side.*

410 . . . .
411 . . . . म . . . . [न्त्र] निजवश-
412 कृतस . . . . . स्तानुस्समारो-
413 पितः ॥—[7][७९*] चोळतुण्डीरपा-
414 [8]ण्ड्येषु गंगावाटिकुलूतयोः[9] [।*]
415 वीरराजेन्द्रना[मा*]सौ ब्रह्म-

1 Read महेश्वरै°. The *ai* symbols alone of रै are at the end of this line.

2 The secondary ĕ sign of क्षे is in the previous line.

3 Read सोन्वशात्.

4 Read समुच्चय.

5 Metre: Svāgatā.

6 Read मारोपितम्.

7 Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

8 The ĕ sign of ण्ड्ये is at the end of the previous line.

9 The secondary *a* and the *visarga* of योः are in the next line.

416 देयान[क*]ल्पयत् ॥—[1] [८०*] [च]त्वारिंश-
417 त् सहस्राणि ब्राह्मणाना-
418 न्द्रयीविददं[2] [।*] अनोषयत्[3] भूमि-
419 दानैरस्थापयदतिस्थिरम् ॥—[८१*]
420 ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ [॥*] ஸகலபுவநாஶ்ரய
421 ஸ்ரீமேதநிவல்லப:[4] மஹாராஜா-
422 திராஜ பரம[ே*]ஶ்வர[5] பரம ப-
423 ட்டாரக ஸிம்ஹ ராஜகுலதிலக
424 குலசே . . . . ராஜ .
425 க ஸூர்ய[வம்]ஶ . . . ஜ ஸூர்ய-
426 வ[ம்]ஶ[ோ மும்மடி சோ]ழன் க-
427 ண்ட ராஜசேகர ராஜாஶ்ரய-
428 ராஜராஜேந்த்ர வீரசோழ கரிகால-
429 சோழ ராஜகேஸரிவர்ம ஸ்ரீ வீர-
430 ராஜேந்த்ரதேவர்க்கு யாண்டு ஏழா-
431 வது தே . . . . பத்-
432 தின் [கிளிந]ல்லூர் . . . .
433 வீரராஜேந்த்ர . . . .
434 ம்ம ராவ . . . . ராஜரா-
435 ஜப்பாண்டி[நாட்டு] உத்தமசோழவ-
436 ளநாட்டுப் புறத்தாயநாட்டு [குமரி?]க்க-
437 ன்னியாபிடாரியார்க்கு வேண்டும் நித்யநி-
438 [வந்த]ங்களுக்கு சக்கரவத்தி [ஸ்ரீவீரராஜே]-
439 ந்த்ரதேவ[ர் குடு]த்த உத்தமசோழவளநாட்-
440 டு புறத்தாயநாட்டு நற்றிராக்குடி நில-
441 ன் இருநூற்றெழுபத்தொன்றே முக்கா-
442 லே இரண்டுமாவும் இந்நாட்டுப் பெரு-
443 ங்குடி கிழ்கொம்பு உட்பட்ட நில-
444 ன் ஐம்பத்தொன்பதே ஒன்பதி-

---

1 Metre: Anushṭubh: This is also the metre of the next verse.

2 Read °त्रयीविदाम्.

3 Read अतोषयद्.

4 Read மேதிநீவல்லப.

5 Read மஹேந்த்ர.

Translation.

(Verse 1.) Be it well! Prosperity! May the Lord of Bhavānī (i. e. Pārvatī),—who wears the crescent as an ornament (*on his head*); who, out of sport arising (in his mind), became the author of creation, protection and destruction of the world; who is the lord of speech; who is the sole abode of all knowledge (*sarvajñatā*); who renders the ocean of *samsāra*, with (*its*) fearful dangers, passable by men (*whose minds are*) bent with devotion towards Him,—grant you (i. e. the kings of the Chōḷa family) wealth.

(V. 2) May the god Śambhu,—who is merciful unto all objects, animate and inanimate; who, in his resplendant body, poised in *yōga* attitude on the (*Kailāsa*) mountain, successfully carries this supreme Māyā, which makes this world pleasant and is the cause of knowledge and ignorance; who, being pleased with the happiness enjoyed by all creatures (*paśus*),—protect you from falling, in order that your connection with sin may easily break asunder.

(V. 3) May that Hari,—who with his Discus caused to perish the whole host of the valiant Daityas; who made Bali remain always at the very bottom of the nether regions; who is the protector of the resplendant gods (*suras*); and who, through you, that are born in this world like a partial incarnation of himself, protects unchallenged in an instant the entire Earth,—destory immediately (*all*) your sins.

(V. 4) At first, God, the supreme lord of the universe, filled, in an opportune moment, with the extreme desire to create, produced water, the suitable object for evolving the world. Having sown in it his own eternal seed and raised there from it the *Brahmāṇḍa* which enveloped, as it were, the three worlds, and Vidhi (i. e. Brahmā) in order to generate other desirable objects.

(V. 5) This Viriñcha (i. e. Brahmā), who was thus begotten from him, having created the worlds with all varieties of objects, produced other Brahmas *i. e.* the Munīndras of irresistable power engaged in observing the (prescribed) duties (*karmas*). One among them, Marīchi, full of lustre pervading on all sides, illumined the houses *i. e.* the three worlds, (*and*) more than others . . . . .

(V. 6) From him (*i. e.* Marīchi) came Paśyaka,[1] the Kaśyapa,—whose excessive beauty was well witnessed by the blooming multitudes of eyes (of the god) seated on the lotus flower (*i. e.* Brahmā), who is reckoned as the foremost of men filled with pre-eminence; and whose sons the gods and others (*i. e.* demons), who, by constantly fighting with each other, had obtained possession of fortune (Śrī), excelled the ever-increasing billows of the ocean (which bore Lakshmī and were always dashing one against the other).

(Vv. 7 and 8) From him (*i. e.* Kaśyapa) was then born the incomparable Vivasvān (*i. e.* Sūrya), the originator of time, who ever excelled his kindred (i. e. other planets) by (*virtue of*) his growing lustre which is capable of protecting the worlds; and by the contact of whose rays, the lotus abode of Dhātṛi (i. e. Brahmā), the lord of all (the universe), shone forth along with his lotus faces awaking (as it were), from sleep for the first time; by the clustre of whose (i. e. Sūrya's) rays, which dispelled dense darkness and shed light all around, the lustrous golden

1 Literally 'the seer'.

Brahmāṇḍa appeared as if it emitted dross; and whose disc, with rays, looked like the pericarp with filaments, of the lotus, which was the sky, beautified by petals, which are the directions of the compass.

(V. 9) To him (i. e. Sūrya) was born Manu, of spotless body, the first seed of kings, by whose only connection the subjects were called Mānavas by sages, (who was) the one adorable being to all men, who caused incomparable bliss by expounding the Dharmas, and which son (i. e. Manu), Sūrya (Bhāsvān) caused to shine as he did his father (i. e. Kaśyapa) by being Bhāsvatsuta.[2]

(V. 10) To him (i. e. Manu) was born the son Ikshvāku, who shone with (such) spotless fame as spread on all directions; whose glory was sung by hosts of Dēvas; whose mighty and far-reaching power of conquest overcame only the splendour of Mitra[3] (Sūrya), there being no enemy kings (*amitra*) (to be directed against).

(V. 11) To him (i. e. Ikshvāku) was born the highly righteous and intelligent son Vikukshiśrava of unimpaired strength, who gave protection to this world; the bowing at whose feet easily secured to the kings of this earth that great prosperity which could be obtained only by fighting with each other.

(V. 12) Purañjaya, the subduer of kings appearing in battle-fields, was his (Vikukshisrava's) son. That venerable (king), by reason of his having made Indra a bull and stood on its stout hump in the field of battle, acquired the name Kakutstha, being (so) joyfully greeted by the Dēvas.

(V. 13) In this family there was Pṛithu, (who) equalled the Kulaparvata and was much respected by all kings. When he was king, people were wise and happy; and not pretending and needy.

(V. 14) In this mighty family there was king Kuvalāśva, whose body (when seated on the back of) steeds as powerful as those of the sun, shone all the greater. That highly powerful (monarch), causing good to this world, killed Dhundhu, the chief of the Daityas, who was concealed in the excessively sandy (river) Sindhu.

(V. 15) To allay the afflictions of this earth, there was born in this family the king named Māndhāta, of established fame, an incarnation of the enemy of the gods[4] glowing with astounding greatness and affording immense pleasure to the eyes of (all) men. For the destruction of unrighteousness, his discus busily whirled as far as the Chakravāḷa mountain.

(V. 16) When that king of supreme prowess was ruling this world, the deer wandered in company with lion, all objects gave up their natural enmity, but righteousness alone did not do so as there was no unrighteousness.

1 Evidently, the Praśasti-writer regards Vaivasvata-Manu as the author of the Smṛiti.

2 The writer makes a pun on the word *Bhāsvat suta* 'he who had Bhāsvān (Sūrya) as his son' and 'he who was the son of Bhāsvān'. Evidently the writer wants to convey that both Manu and Kaśyapa derived their fame by being the son and father of the Sun.

3 The poet makes here a pun on the word 'mitra' which means both 'a friend' and 'the Sun'.

4 The reading *amarāri* is clear: it is not possible to explain how a righteous king like Māndhātṛi came to be called an incarnation of the enemy of the gods.

(V. 17) In this family, which was always void of peril and was highly flourishing, there was born the prosperous Muchukunda, growing with (many) good qualities and with fame white as the Kunda flowers like unto a rising luminary (i. e.) the moon with its brilliant rays.

(V. 18) . . . . the king made *svarga* hard of access even to those who were killed in battle.

(V. 19) In this family there was a king named Hariśchandra, subduing crowds of (enemy) kings by (his) prowess, and deriving pleasure in waging wars; and who, enduring the single desire of repaying the blind (owl-like) Kausika,[1] sold, even as (the worthless) grass, himself, his good son and wife.

(V. 20) In this family there was a king called Sagara, by whom other kings were put to fright; by whose preparation to perform several horse sacrifices, Dēvarāja (i. e. Indra) was struck with horror; by the prowess of whose sons, the salt sea having been termed Sāgara, ... gave the status of (being called) Sāgara to other oceans as well.

(V. 21) In this family there was king Bhagīratha. In order to uplift the departed members of his family, who had been burnt to ashes by the increasing flames of the fire of Kapila's rage, he brought down to earth the heavenly river and made that Bhāgīrathī flow in three regions (i. e. the Heaven, the Earth and the Pātāḷa); and turned into immortal beings even the mortals that bathed in the flood of water of (that) devine river.

(V. 22) Ṛituparṇa, descended from this great family, filled with all kingly virtues and endued with a glorious fame praised by (all) goodmen, protected the entire earth.

(V. 23) In this family was born king Dilīpa, the one light of (all) the worlds, the dispeller of the afflictions of the earth, the destroyer of the prowess of hostile kings, of dreadful rage manifested by the lamentations of his enemies' wives, and of (such) fame (as was) increased by his ever successful bow.

(V. 24) Seeing the earth troubled by powerful and wicked demons, there was born in this family, an incarnation of the four parts of the Divine lord which (consisting of) the two glorious pairs of sons *viz.* Rāma with Lakshmaṇa and Bharata with Śatrughna, resembled the two pairs of arms of Vishṇu.

(V. 25) The universal lord taught to the world the mode of conduct of a son to father, the method of behaviour of a brother to (his) brothers, that of a husband to (his) wife, that of an enemy to (his) enemy, that of a king to sages and that of a relation to (his other) relations.

(V. 26) He (i. e. Rāma) did not kill the lord of the demons (actuated) by anger; neither did he take back his wife (influenced) by passion; but he only did his duty as a king. If (it was) not so, why did he destroy with his sword the Śūdra who was performing penance on the Malaya mountain and why did (he) (again) abandon Sīta of lasting beauty and growing constancy.

1 The text reading कोशिकायान्धनायाम् on page 134 has been left uncorrected as it is not quite certain that कौशिकायान्धकाय is what is intended. With the latter emendation, the above translation is *given. The poet seems to make a* pun on the word *Kauśika* which means both "an owl" and "the sage Viśvāmitra". *Andhaka* would be an apt qualifying word for either.

(V. 27) This (Rāma), the repository of righteous character, built a dam across the ocean in order to lead the army of monkeys and (as a result) established the (correct) extent of all (prescribed) duties. People praise Rāṃa, the abode of all good qualities, as the Dhūmakētu (i. e. the harbinger of ruin) to the miseries of the gods and the cause of the calamities of the demons.

(V. 28) In this family there was born a king named Chōḷa, who broke (the power of) the hosts of (hostile) kings; who was Death to the proud monarchs; and to whom, that ruled the earth as (easily as) his capital, all the forests became the pleasure garden for sporting.

(V. 29) On one occasion, (this king), who was as resplendent as Hara and was the resort of the learned, was cheerfully spending his days which afforded (enough) opportunities for sports, in the forests habited by assemblages of sages.

(V. 30) Endued with patience and attended by no large army, he once roamed through forests, desirous of killing (i. e. hunting) herds of deer; he who was by nature skilful, being allured by a demon, that appeared in the form of an antilope, wended his way southwards.

(V. 31) Another forest, thick with trees, was reached by the fleet steed which followed (this) deer. (And) prepared for a long journey, the commanders of his rapidly marching large forces accompanied the sovereign.

(V. 32) Having killed there the demon (*rajanichara*), the king, with a number of spies, moved along the (bank of the river) Kāvērī which carries on earth, in the form of water, the (very) nectar obtained by the gods by churning the milk ocean.

(V. 33) Having bathed in it (i. e. the Kāvērī), ... to Brāhmaṇas, he, of subdued mind, did not find them there. (Therefore), having brought several eminent Brāhmaṇas from (the country of) the Āryāvarta, he made them live on (its) bank.

(V. 34) (That) strong (king), clearing all jungles, made an extensively fine grove of areca-palms abounding in betel-creepers; and by the small groves (planted by him, he made) the lands on both banks of the Kāvērī to have one (continuous) shade but many kinds of fruits.

(V. 35) People desirous of obtaining *svarga*, constantly bathe in the Ganges (*amara sarit*) and with great effort perform penance on its banks. (But) the ablutions and severe penance made here (i. e. the Kāvērī) fix on (*i. e.* secure for the virtuous, a dwelling in a handsome place, superior even to the abode of the gods.

(V. 36) After him Rājakēsari, who was the son of king Chōḷa, who like the Sun was incomparably bright and who had (his) hostile (kings) greatly afflicted, ruled the earth to the (very) edge of the ocean.

(V. 37) His son was king Parakēsari, whose orders had never to be disobeyed, who was the friend of the good, ... ruled the earth . . . .

(V. 38) In this family there appeared a king named Mṛityujit, the conqueror of Death, who, pleasing the Dēvas by sacrifices, and making his foes tremble at his command, cast down hosts of enemies.

(V. 39) Born in this family there shone a king named Vīrasēna who removed the sufferings of all people, who equalled the Sun in splendour, who was the home of all happiness and who possessed beautiful limbs.

(V. 40) There was born in this dynasty an extremely glorious king named Chitra, whose anger was expunged (only) by the prostrations of the hosts of (his) terror-stricken enemies; and by whose arrows, (discharged) in battle, the foe of Vṛitra (i. e. Indra,) being terrified, became his friend and assumed the form of Vyāghrakētu's banner.

(V. 41) King Pushpakētu,—with whom the goddess of beauty perpetually resided; who, by the strength of his arms sportively drew (to himself) the prosperity of other kings,—was born in this race (in order) to rule the earth, which was (made) lovely by all the borders of the seas.

(V. 42) In this family was born a king called Kētumāla, who possessed the brightness of lightning (and) who had acquired his name Kētumāla by seizing clusters of banners (belonging to) enemy kings.

(V. 43) The king named Samudrajit . . . . earth. He obtained the daughter of . . . . as a price for the feat of joining the eastern ocean with the western one.

(V. 44) In this illustrious race was born a king named Pañchapa, esteemed for wealth. Being prayed to by five Yakshas, who came to him (in the guise of) guests, he, with a mind bent on evincing guileless hospitality to guests, made them drink his warm blood, by cutting (open) five (of his) arteries: he was (hence) known as Pañchapa.

(V. 45) Glowing like the moon and excelling in might the guardians of the (eight) quarters, there was in this race king Nṛimṛiḍa. He of imperishable valour conquered the god of Death by the grace of Mṛiḍa (Śiva).

(V. 46) In this family was born (a king) of spotless character called Manōratha, the valorous in battle. Having quickly destroyed the desires of his enemies, he made the desires of . . . . . fruitful,[1] with his strength.

(V. 47) In this family were born several kings such as Perunatkiḷḷi who surpassed the lord of gods (Amarēśvara) in point of strength, wealth and prowess. The world was permeated with their excellent fame which spread as far as the oceans, the earth and the Sun and shone upto the Brahmāṇḍa (i. e.) in all countries and at all times.

(V. 48) There was a Chōḷa king in this race, named Karikāla, who was equal (in firmness) to the *Kulaparvatas*; whose excessive fame, which greatly spread (in all directions), resembled the (flowers) of the reed (*kāśa*); who was (as it were) the forehead mark of kings; and who was Death to rival monarchs preparing for expeditions (against him).

(V. 49.) He (i. e. Karikāla), who was as bright as the Sun and who curbed the pride of the insubordinates, prevented, the Kāvērī,—which by its excessive floods, caused the earth to be deprived of its produce,—by means of a

1 सत्फलात् has been taken to stand for सत्फकान्.

bund formed of earth thrown in baskets, carried in hand by (enemy) kings.

(V. 50.) In that family was born the excellent king Vaḷabha, of good qualities pertaining to noble birth, whose feet were fit to be saluted by all kings; whose prowess was wonderful and matchless; and who, like fire, scorched up the mothlike enemies.

(V. 51.) There was in this family king Jagadēkamalla, who was equal to Amarēśa (*i. e.* Indra); who removed the nail of distress from men of learning; who possessed several missiles, which caused the destruction of (his) enemies.

(V. 52.) In this family of . . . . . . son of Sūrya, there appeared the patient Vyāḷabhayaṅkara, whose pair of lotus-(like) feet were worshipped by hostile kings; who had his enemies cut to pieces by the sword, which he held in his prop-like hands; who was resorted to by the (ever) increasing goddess of wealth (Śrī); and whose fire of anger was only quenched when bathed by the tears, shed by the consorts of his foes.

(V. 53). In this family was born (one) named Vijayālaya who was the lord of all the earth and whose pair of lotus-like feet were ever worn as crest-jewel by all monarchs.

(V. 54). That king (*i. e.* Vijayālaya) constructed in the Chōḷa country a town named Tañchāpurī, provided with all the advantages of a new (city), praised by gods such as (Brahmā), seated on the lotus flower.

(V. 55.) His son was Ādityavarma, well known by (his other) name Kōdaṇḍarāma, who, pounced upon and killed the Pallava king seated on a rutting head-elephant.

(V. 56). To him (*i. e.* Āditya) was born a son, the renowned king Parāntaka who was the sole lord of valorous kings, who was the abode of the goddess of heroism, and by whose principal elephant, roaring and emitting a flood of rut, sporting in the pleasure gardens on the shore of the sea, the water of the ocean was made fragrant in all quarters.

(V. 57). By reason of his having killed the Pāṇḍya sovereign together with his forces and taken possession of all his wealth and reduced to ashes Madhurā (*i. e.* Madura), that valorous (*king*), the subduer of enemies, acquired the title Madhurāntaka.

(V. 58.) By (virtue of) his having conquered (in battle) the then un-conquered king Krishṇarāja, (Parāntaka),— who was comparable with Vijaya (*i. e.* Arjuna) and whose glory was augmented by his excessive prowess,— was famed as Vīra-Chōḷa.

(V. 59.) (And) by (reason of) his having killed the lords of Siṁhaḷa, (who were) ready to give (him) battle, that (king *i. e.* Parāntaka),— who, with the help of his highly excited armies, which crossed the ocean, had his feet worshipped by all kings and acquired the meaningful name Siṁhaḷāntaka.

(V. 60). Who is there that can be compared with this king, the (very) store-house of all good qualities ? Who is there that can describe the collection

of good qualities in him, the only abode of prowess and the possessor of enemies, vanquished in battle; that had the entire host of enemies destroyed; and who established, just as Brahmā created the *svarga*, Brāmhaṇa villages (*agrahāras*) commencing with the name Vīranārāyaṇa, fit to be enjoyed by learned Brāhmaṇas.

(V. 61.) The son of this (sovereign) was the king named Arindama, (who was as) bright as the Moon, who had a number of enemies destroyed, and by hearing the strength of whose arms, (his) trembling foes dwelt in the cavern homes of mountains.

(V. 62.) This (king) made the hostile monarchs obey his commands just as it pleased him. Like unto Brahmā, (he) bestowed wealth on the good. With his highly praised valour, he caused calamities to his enemies and made the brightness of the moon equal his (own) splendour.

(V. 63). The son of this (king *i. e.* Arindama) was Parāntaka, who ever had his hosts of enemies detroyed; and contemplating on whose advancement, the quivering Pāṇḍya sovereign crossed the mountain (and fled away).

(V. 64). (He) threw into prison all his enemeis; crossed (successfully) many an ocean-like battle; removed the anguish of the assemblage of scholars; and caused grief to the wicked.

(V. 65). From this monarch (*i. e.* Parāntaka), who is the abode of all good qualities, was born the king (naranātha) named Rājarāja, who, having a body as beautiful as (that of) . . . . . and such sparkling eyes as resembled the lotus (flower), equalled the god of wealth (Rājarāja) only in point of bestowing riches (Dhanada).[1]

(V. 66). He (*i. e.* Rājarāja) slew in battle (enemy) kings, uprooted evils from the earth, conducted several sacrificial rites and spoke truthful . . . . .

(V. 67). While Rājarāja was the firm support of the submissive, it is a pity that the dull-headed Satyāśraya should fly away (from the battle-field). Enemies terrified in battle win him over by their submission; and this (king) did not make his foes lose (either) their lives or (their) wealth.

(V. 68). To him was born the son (*i. e.*) the king named Madhurāntaka, who was the punisher of the insubordinate and who, like Pākaśāsana (*i. e.* Indra) was the chastiser of (his) foes; and who had a body as beautiful as that of Śambarāri (*i. e.* Manmatha).

(V. 69). Like Vijaya (*i. e.* Arjuna), that (king) of invincible valour and brilliance of form and beauty, conquered all the lords of the Kuntala (country). With his prowess, he took away from the valiant king Bihaḷa[2] the crown of Jāmadagnya (*i. e.* Paraśurāma), the destroyer of the Kshatriyas.

(V. 70) He, who had his enemies vanquished (in battle) by the strength of (his) arms, took away the garland of Śatakratu (*i. e.* Indra), which was as respledent as the moon: and in a battle-field (he) made Mānykēṭa a play-ground for his armies.

1 The writer evidently wants to say that the king, unlike Kubēra, whose other name Rājarāja he bore, had a beautiful body.

2 The reading of the name Bhihaḷa is highly doubtful.

(V. 71). He had the lords of the Kulūta and Utkala (countries) slain by the generals of his forces; destroyed the Kaliṅga king together with the chief of Viṁśa;[1] brought the Ganges,— whose banks were destroyed by a roaring herd of elephants,— in pots filled with (its) water, which were carried on the heads of crowned kings.

(V. 72). With (the help) of his forces, which crossed the seas, which were excessively powerful in arms and which had scattered away the armies of all his enemies, he (*i e.* Madhurāntaka) burnt Kaṭāha, that could not be set on fire by others. What is (there that is) impossible for this Rājēndra-Chōḷa !

(V. 73). Like unto a sacrifice having three fires, there were (born) to him (*i. e.* Rājēndra-Chōḷa) three sons, of whom the first was king Rājādhirāja, the forehead mark of the rulers of the earth, who set fire to Kalyāṇapura after conquering its overlords, ... Āhavamalla . . . . .

(V. 74). When this (king) (*i. e.* Rājādhirāja) went to Heaven, king Rājēndradēva, his younger brother, who had a pair of arms like unto the lord of serpents (Ādiśēsha), removed the sorrows of the people, protected all this earth and caused, (as it were), all his enemies to be submerged in a deluge.

(V. 75—76). When this (king) (*i. e.* Rājēndradēva) went to Heaven, Vīrarājēndradēva, his younger brother, who had deprived his foes of (their) splendour, ruled the extensive dominion according to prescribed laws. This highly powerful king Rājēndradēva, who having slain at Kūḍalsaṅgama the kings of the Maṇṇāṭa[2] family, increased the army of the partakers of sacrificial offerings by (means of) these (*i. e.* Karṇāṭa kings) who had become gods; and by whom the Ocean-god was delighted . . . . . . having killed . . . . . . and created with their blood another river, an additional damsel to it,— quickly conquered countless inner and outer multitudes of forces.

(V. 77). The Vēṅgi and the Kaliṅga countries, which were inherited by his two brothers but were left uncared for by them, having been taken away by powerful enemies, the glorious king Vallabha-Vallabha conquered (these) highly powerful foes, leaving many that were frightened and ruled over the countries safely.

(V. 78). That king Vīra-Chōḷa *alias* Karikāla, the destroyer of the manifold strength of the *Kali*-age, established many a charming, substantial and lofty charitable edict (*dharmaśāsana*).

(V. 79). I think . . . . the ruby called Trailōkyasāra placed on the crown of the dancer in the Dabhrasabhā (*i. e.* the god Naṭarāja), who is the lord of Adrisuta (*i. e.* Pārvatī).

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1 *Viṁśēndraiḥ* has perhaps to be corrected into *viṁśīndraiḥ* in which case its meaning would be 'lords of twenty villages'. In this connection, the following couplet of Manu may be noted:—

ग्रामस्याधिपतिं कुर्याद्दशग्रामपतिं तथा ।

विंशतीशं शतेशं च सहस्रपतिमेव च ॥

2 Perhaps "Karṇāṭa" is meant here.

(V. 80—81). This king, Vīrarājēndra by name, established *brahmadēyas* in the Chōḷa, Tuṇḍīra, Pāṇḍya, Gaṅgavāṭī and Kulūta countries: pleased forty-thousand Brāhmaṇas, learned in the three Vēdas, by grants of lands and permanently settled them there.

(Lines 420—444). Hail! Prosperity! In the seventh year of (*the reign of*) the illustrious (king) Vīrarājēndradēva, the resort of all the world, the glorious lord of the earth, the overlord of kings, *sakalamahēndra*, the lion, (as it were,) of the eight excellent families, the promotor of the welfare of kings, ... who saw the back of Āhavamalla three times, Rājaśēkhara, Rājāśraya, Rājarājēndra, Vīra-Chōḷa, Karikāla-Chōḷa, Rājakēsarivarman, Vīrarājēndradēva, the glorious emperor, gave (*to the goddess*) Kanyāpīḍāriyār at [Kumari] in Puṟattāya-nāḍu (a sub-division) of Uttamaśōḷa-vaḷanāḍu (a district) of Rājarāja-Pāṇḍinādu, for daily requirements, two hundred and seventy one and three quarters (of a *vēli*) and two *mā* of land in Naṟṟirākkuḍi, (a village) in Puṟattāya-nāḍu (a sub-division of) Uttamaśōḷa-vaḷanāḍu, together with fifty-nine (*vēli*) and nine . . . . of land included in Peruṅguḍi-Kīḻkombu, a village in the same nāḍu . . . .